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AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
BEST MEANS
OF
PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT
FOR THE PEOPLE.

Y A S S E



LIST MEANS

OF

PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT
FOR THE PEOPLE

AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
BEST MEANS
OF
PROVIDING EMPLOYMENT
FOR THE PEOPLE.
TO WHICH WAS ADJUDGED
THE PRIZE
PROPOSED BY THE
ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY
FOR THE
BEST DISSERTATION ON THAT SUBJECT.

By SAMUEL CRUMPE, M.D.
M. R. I. A. — K

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

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1795.

EAST ASIAN

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THE EAST ASIAN
FOR THE PEOPLE



ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

THE EAST ASIAN

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, M.D.

THE SECOND EDITION

LONDON

PRINTED BY G. G. AND J. KNOX, IN ST. MARTIN'S LANE, AND BY J. HARRISON, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JAMES EARL OF CHARLEMONT,

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

MY LORD,

VARIOUS are the motives which give birth to dedications. Those which have occasioned the following arise from the novel situation of the author, and the nature of the performance he now ventures to make public.

A writer who, for the first time, exposes his labours to general inspection, will naturally seek protection from the man distinguished by the acquisitions of literature himself, and by the desire and power of encouraging them in others. Should his Essays be in their nature political, and such as involve the most material interests of society, he may, without impropriety, expect the countenance of those distinguished by steady and genuine

patriotism. Of this description are the pages which ensue ; and so situated is the Author from whose pen they proceed. They, therefore, claim at once the patronage of the patriot and the man of letters. Obvious is the consequence. To your Lordship, as exhibiting the singular combination of such singular characters, they are respectfully inscribed : a tribute the more readily offered, as it cannot for a moment incur the most remote suspicion of self-interest, or the possible imputation of flattery.

I have the honour to remain,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

Humble servant,

SAMUEL CRUMPE.

Limerick,
Aug. 1, 1793.

P R E F A C E.

A BRIEF statement of the circumstances which have given rise to the composition and publication of the ensuing Essay, and of the principal objects the Author has therein held in view, may be neither unacceptable or unnecessary to the reader.

On the 8th day of October 1791, the Royal Irish Academy received a letter, signed, *A Friend to Ireland*, inclosing a Bank-note for one hundred pounds, with directions that they should immediately propose two prizes of fifty pounds each; one for the best essay on the *best System of National Education*, and the other for the best dissertation on the subject of the ensuing pages. Of the comparative merit of the

different Essays the Academy were themselves to judge. The questions were accordingly made public, and, at the proposed period, the prize for the best Essay on Education was adjudged to Dr. S. Dickson; but as the different dissertations on the second subject were not deemed satisfactory, it was, on the 16th of June 1792, again proposed for competition. The subsequent Essay was composed during the last four months of that year, and to it, after an examination of three others, the prize was adjudged on the 20th of April 1793. As it was too voluminous to be inserted in the Transactions of the Academy, it is, with their approbation, now separately offered to the public. By this, however, it is not to be understood, that the Academy, as a body, adopt the different sentiments and positions the work contains; in this particular it stands in the same predicament with the different articles which compose their Transactions; and respecting which it is declared, that "The Academy
 " as a body, are not answerable for any opi-
 " nion,

“ nion, representation of facts, or train of
 “ reasoning, which may appear in them ;
 “ for which the authors of the several essays
 “ are alone responsible.”

With respect to the execution of the work itself, a few observations strike the Author as at present not inapplicable ; and, first, as to the size of the performance ;

It may be imagined that, in an attempt of this nature, all that was possible to be advanced in elucidation of the subject could be easily comprised in a smaller space ; and that what might be condensed into an essay has been expanded into a volume. Similar were the sentiments of the Author at the commencement of his undertaking ; and, engaged in the duties of a laborious profession, so little is his portion of leisure, that were he at first fully acquainted with the extent of the subject, the task would probably have by him been left unattempted ; but its magnitude was not fully comprehended till the outlines

were

were nearly traced, and partly filled up. So great, indeed, is the diversity of matter, so extensive and important the variety of objects which the examination of the question unavoidably involves, that his constant aim has been to concentrate his observations, and abbreviate his discussions; and he is free to confess, that the succeeding sheets, even still, appear to him rather as the skeleton of a work which might be composed on the subject, than as a full and perfect investigation of its different parts and dependencies.

In perusing the subsequent pages, the reader is not to expect entertainment from the beauties of style, or ornaments of rhetoric; the work will only prove interesting from any information it may convey. Its author has avoided declamation; his subject precluded embellishment.

It may be imagined by some that the examination of the question is in many places of too abstract a nature; that the views of the

writer should have been more confined ; and that his speculations are frequently rather theoretical than practical. The views of the writer have been extensive ; he has not been very anxious to descend to very minute particulars, to recommend this favourite fabric, or that favourite bounty ; to enter into the squabbles of interested competitors ; or to calculate to a fraction what one manufacture costs the country, or to a unit what number of labourers another employs. He has endeavoured to examine the question from a more commanding eminence ; to investigate the *generally* operating defects and deficiencies which obstruct occupation and industry ; to comprehend the interest of *all* concerned ; and to determine the best means of providing *general* employment for an *entire* people.

In treating of the different impediments to industry and labour, which have existed among different nations, the writer has adduced many instances from France ; and noticed, with satisfaction, their correction during

ing the first revolution. Let not this be construed into an approbation of the anarchy which has for some time ravaged that distracted country. The insecurity of property which at present prevails among its miserable natives, is alone sufficient to annihilate industrious employment; is alone more destructive to every industrious principle, than all the inconveniencies of its ancient government combined.

In perusing the Second Part, which was written last November, it will be perceived that some of the measures recommended have been carried into execution by our Parliament this session. Many of their acts have, indeed, been peculiarly calculated to benefit the nation at large, and particularly to assist the lower class of the community. Yet, strange to tell! that class seem at present as much inclined to riot and disorder as ever. From whatever cause these commotions proceed, they should be instantly repressed by the strong arm of power. The reformation
of

of a mob should never even be listened to, nor their assemblage be either countenanced or permitted. The author of this Essay will be found in several of its pages the advocate of the people ; yet such are his sentiments, and such must be those of every subject who wishes to have any grievances that shall exist *constitutionally* and *peaceably* redressed.

The adjudication of a prize to one of its own members has been deemed by some a piece of indelicacy in any literary society. But where they are numerous, to exclude all from competition would seem a measure ungracious at once and injurious. Partiality can in such cases be always easily avoided. In the present instance it may not be amiss to remark, that the Author had not the honour of a seat in the Academy at the time his Essay was adjudged the prize.

Limerick, August 1, 1793.

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INTRO.

What are the best Means of providing Employment for the People?

INTRODUCTION.

OF the infinite variety of subjects, which from the earliest ages have engaged the attention of mankind, the study of politics will be found upon consideration, at once, the most momentous, and the most difficult. The importance of such inquiries is so self-evident, and universally acknowledged, as to require no elucidation: the sources of that difficulty with which they are attended, may be easily and briefly explained.

If politics be considered as an *Art*, to be learned and pursued in a regular routine, fettered by precedent, and directed by example, maxims the most pernicious may be sanctified

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and perpetuated; the errors of the darkest periods be transmitted to posterity; and man experience the lapse of ages, while the art of governing him well remains in a state of infancy. If, on the other hand, politics be considered as a *Science*, the impediments which attend its study, appear equally difficult and necessary to be surmounted. In every scientific inquiry the necessity of deducing our conclusions from facts and experiments alone, has, by the immortal Bacon, been distinctly explained, and vigorously enforced; and since the publication of his writings, such modes of inquiry have been successfully extended to almost every department of knowledge. But with respect to *political* facts, the world seems yet too young to afford a sufficiency for the foundation of axioms, universally just, or generally applicable. And with respect to experiments, where exists the genius capable of devising them? where lies the government by which they will be admitted? where the people among whom they may be tried with safety? The natural philosopher, if he be not already supplied with facts, by which he may direct his reasonings, or from which his conclusions may be deduced, can easily institute
his

his experiments, with every prospect of enlarging the sphere of knowledge, and no possibility of disturbing his neighbour's felicity and repose. The philosopher in *politics* is neither gifted with such opportunities, nor, did such occur, could he pursue the necessary steps, without the risk of dangers the most serious and diffused. In his inquiries, therefore, he has principally to note the events which the histories of various nations offer to his view, the effects their different institutions have produced upon the people, and the variety of changes their several alterations have occasioned. Where such facts are deficient, or totally wanting, he can only be guided by reasoning; which, though frequently fallacious, is the only resource left; and he is therefore necessitated to canvas the merits of the mere opinions of his predecessors in the same labours; and to examine systems rather specious and attractive, than founded in solidity, or salutary if carried into execution.

The question proposed by the Academy, is a political one in the strictest acceptance of the term; and the more minutely it is considered, the more evident will become its importance. That the morals and happiness of a people de-

pend, in a great degree, upon their being employed in industrious occupations, is an axiom that will not be controverted: that the wealth of kingdoms arises not from the quantity of precious metals they may possess, or from an imaginary balance of commerce in their favour, but from the quantity of productive labour exerted by their inhabitants, is a maxim which has been lately fully demonstrated; and that the populousness, and strength of a nation, are proportioned to the numbers employed in active pursuits, is a principle which will be universally admitted. On the employment of the people, therefore, depend their own felicity and wealth, their constitution's permanency and vigour; and to develop the best means of providing such employment, is a task of the last, and most extensive importance.

The obstacles with which the execution of such an attempt is attended, are indeed considerable, and might be minutely detailed; but the present is not a place for such an enumeration; the attempt is made, and the degree of success will be appreciated, not by the difficulties, but by the merits of the performance.

Previous

Previous to a more intimate discussion of the question proposed, it seems necessary to ascertain, with every possible degree of accuracy, the precise meaning of the terms in which it is conveyed. Its general import is sufficiently obvious; but with respect to the sense intended to be annexed to the word *People*, the author of the present Essay feels in some degree dubious.

On the most superficial consideration it will appear evident, that the best means of providing employment for the people, must vary, not only in every kingdom, but in every district of the same kingdom. The difference of climate, soil, situation, and natural productions; the diversity of national or even provincial character; the different degrees of civilization, industry, or refinement which already prevail;—these, and a thousand other causes, must necessarily occasion the variation alluded to. If, therefore, by the word *people*, be understood the *Irish People*, as the situation, title, and general views of the Academy would lead us to suppose, the Essayist is to concentrate his views on that nation, and to examine the nature of its productions, the general habits of its natives, the improvements they have already introduced, and those which may be estab-

blished to the advancement of industry and encouragement of labour.

If, on the contrary, the term *people* be taken in a more extended sense, and that it is intended to investigate, what, *in general*, are the best modes of providing employment for civilized mankind; the remarks of the inquirer must be more universally applicable, his observations deduced from more widely operating causes, and his reasonings and conclusions be rather general than appropriate.

Notwithstanding, however, that the propriety of the distinction just laid down cannot well be controverted, it must at the same time be admitted, that many principles may be discovered, from a *general* survey of the subject, which will apply to almost every particular nation. And as the importance of any conclusions to be formed from the examination of the question before us, must be proportioned to the extent of their application; as an acquaintance with the subject in *general* will enable us the better to understand the interests of any nation in *particular*; and as it is the desire of the Essayist to discuss every topic which *might* have been intended to be convey-

conveyed by the question, he shall divide the subject into two parts, and, in the first, attempt to investigate, what are the best means of providing employment for the people in general of *any* civilized state. In the second, he shall endeavour to determine which are particularly applicable to the people of *Ireland*, and what modes may, in their present situation, be resorted to, with the greatest prospect of success.

PART I.

*General reflections—Motives productive of labour
—Indolence of savages—Additional motives to
labour which result from civilization—Two ge-
neral causes of labour—General division of the
subject.*

THERE is no branch of philosophy, which has been cultivated with less success, than that which professes to analyze and explain the different tendencies and operations of the human mind. Nor is there any attempt in politics, more difficult to be executed, than an endeavour to alter the general character, habits, and propensities of a people.

These two reflections obviously occur, at the very commencement of the present discussion.

For

For in endeavouring to ascertain the best modes of providing employment for man, and of rendering the individual industrious, it seems necessary in the very first instance to determine, what are the movements of the mind which principally rouse him to labour and exertion, and what are the most efficacious means of exciting a spirit of industry and labour in a nation in general. An insight into the first of these points will enable us to direct with some advantage our inquiries respecting the second; of which as clear and comprehensive a knowledge as possible seems materially, nay, absolutely necessary. It is useless to furnish a people with the means and materials of employment, if they will *not* be employed. It is vain to offer the instruments and rewards of labour, if they be neglected or refused.

If we look round the animal world, it will be clearly perceived, that there prevails in every species a natural aversion to labour; that each individual of them is in general merely roused into temporary exertion by some pressing desire; and that, as soon as such is satisfied, they relapse again into indolence and repose. Man

so far partakes of the nature of the mere animal in this instance, when unpolished and uninfluenced by the effects of association and civilization, that his exertions will be found confined to the gratification of his mere sensual desires, his labour, to the satisfying temporal, and pressing necessities. "The people of the several tribes of America," says Robertson, "waste their life in a listless indolence. To be free from occupation seems to be all the enjoyment towards which they aspire. They will continue whole days stretched out in their hammocks, or seated on the earth, in perfect idleness, without changing their posture, or raising their eyes from the ground, or uttering a single word. Such is their aversion to labour, that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of future evil, can surmount it. They appear equally indifferent to both, discovering little solicitude, and taking no precautions, to avoid the one, or to secure the other. The cravings of hunger may rouse them, but as they devour, with little distinction, whatever will appease its instinctive demands, the exertions which these occasion are of short duration. Destitute of ardour, as
 " well

“ well as variety of desire, they feel not the force
 “ of those powerful springs, which give vigour
 “ to the movements of the mind, and urge the
 “ patient hand of industry to persevere in its
 “ efforts.”

Of the desires of mankind in a state of barbarism, the most powerful is the appetite of food ; of his necessities, the most pressing is that of defence from the inclemency of seasons. As long, therefore, as man remains in a state approaching that of nature, his industry, and the quantity of labour he exerts, will probably be proportionate to the difficulties he has to encounter in satisfying these necessary wants ; and hence they will be generally least in the most fertile soils, and the most temperate climates. On this principle perhaps there may be some slight foundation for the observation of those writers, who remark that the most industrious nations have in general been those which laboured under the greatest natural disadvantages.

But in civilized society, man is roused into activity, and prompted to industry, by many additional and powerful motives. His acquired
 ap-

appetites and desires become equally numerous, and importunate ; and although the demands of nature should be satisfied, he is still stimulated to labour and industry, by those artificial wants, which civilization has introduced, and custom and example have rendered necessary. Such-acquired motives are even more powerful than those arising from the mere necessities of nature. The latter are, comparatively speaking, easily gratified ; the operation of the former is constantly felt, and constantly increasing. “ *Le travail de la faim,*” as Raynal finely observes, “ *est toujours borné comme elle, mais le travail de l’ambition croît avec ce vice même.*”

Two causes therefore exist, which principally rouse man from that indolence and inactivity, to which he is naturally prone. First, the original necessity of food and raiment ; and, secondly, the desire of enjoying the comforts and conveniences introduced by civilization.—And from this brief and abstract, but necessary inquiry respecting them, one might at first view be inclined to conclude, that to answer the question proposed by the Academy, it would be almost only necessary to develop the means
by

by which a taste for the comforts and conveniencies of life could be best introduced, and most universally diffused among a people. For as such tastes and desires must be considered the principal incentives to assiduous, industrious, and systematic labour, where their operation is felt, their effects, it may be supposed, must necessarily follow.

To devise and explain the best means of introducing such a taste, is indeed a leading, and necessary step. But it is not the only one requisite in the present undertaking. Other causes tend, though not perhaps so forcibly, to excite a spirit of industry and labour, which must also be noticed. Besides,

Man has in no civilized community been suffered to exert or direct his labour, and industry, unfettered and unrestrained. Oppressive laws, impertinent restrictions, and unwholesome regulations, have palsied his arm, and curbed or totally suppressed his activity. To detect and elucidate the injurious tendency, and impolicy, of such impediments, is therefore another necessary and important division of our Essay.

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Supposing even man enjoyed the most unlimited liberty, in directing his activity and exertions, such are the mistakes to which he is naturally exposed, that passion, prejudice, or erroneous reasoning, may prompt him to pursue and persist in some modes of labour and industry preferably to others more beneficial to himself, and more productive of useful employment to his fellow citizens. To determine therefore, in general, the most beneficial channels to which the labour and industry of a people should be principally directed, becomes a third necessary branch of the proposed subject. And if the question be considered in a general point of view, as is our intention in the present part of our Essay, these three divisions appear to comprehend the whole of what can be advanced towards its elucidation. I shall, therefore,

First, Endeavour to point out the best means of introducing and generally diffusing among a people, a spirit of industry and labour.

Secondly, I shall attempt to discover, what are the principal impediments to industry and labour,

bour, which different forms of government, and various restrictions and regulations, have occasioned. And,

Thirdly, I shall endeavour to shew, what is in general the system of industry the most beneficial to be pursued, and the most productive of employment to the people at large.

SECT.

S E C T I O N I.

On the best Means of introducing the Spirit of Industry and Labour among a People.

Difficulty of altering national habits—Imitative propensity of man—Necessaries of life, what—Divided into artificial and natural—The passion for artificial necessaries a great source of industry—Example of this—Three circumstances requisite to render the taste for artificial necessaries the means of making man industrious—1st, The general diffusion of an example—2dly, The object of imitation must not greatly exceed those already enjoyed—3dly, Labour should be necessary to the acquisition of the proposed object, and when exerted should never be ineffectual—Proofs of this, from the conduct of those who for slight services receive exorbitant wages—from the effects of the English poor laws—Still the liberal reward of labour promotes industry—Partial exceptions to this maxim—Its general justice enforced—Arguments in opposition to this maxim refuted—Further proof of the justice of this ge-

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neral maxim—The reward of labour may be nominally high and really low—Taxes on necessities produce this effect—Other injuries they occasion—Other expedients for making a people industrious—Employment of capital—Power of general example—Correction of vices destructive of industry—Drunkennes—A proper and universal system of education—Encouragement to particular branches of industry—Concluding considerations.

S E C T I O N I.

AN attempt of greater difficulty, as was before observed, can scarcely be devised, than that of altering the general character and habits of a people. To counteract the propensities of an individual, even before they are confirmed by habit, requires the most unremitting attention, the most prudent exertion of parental authority. How much more arduous the task, where no such authority is possessed, where such habits are confirmed; and where the change is to be effected among millions? The legislature of a nation may, by its edicts and authority, prevent the commission of crimes; but should it interfere in those concerns, in which every individual must naturally be supposed more interested, than the members of that government under which he lives; should it endeavour to compel a people to industrious pursuits, or to a preference of particular branches of industry, such attempts will be either impotent, or ruinous and oppressive. Changes of this nature can never be either forced, or suddenly effected. Their introduction must be mild, their progress gradual. As compulsion, therefore, cannot be employed

ployed with any prospect of success in exciting a spirit of industry, to what expedient are we to have recourse? Principally, I believe, to the influence of *Example*. I here take the word in a very comprehensive sense, as will soon be obvious.

Man is by nature a being of a very imitative nature; he is also universally actuated with the useful ambition and desire of enjoying the various comforts and conveniencies which his neighbours possess; and hence, as we have already noticed, a taste for such comforts and conveniencies is one of the great sources of labour and industry. Some of the acquired wants of this nature become, in effect, necessities of life, by the prevalence of custom and example; others may be more properly termed luxuries. The nature of each is very well defined by that celebrated writer Dr. A. Smith, whose treatise, *On the Wealth of Nations*, is an invaluable fund of political knowledge; and whose sentiments we shall have frequent occasion to recur to in the present essay. "By necessities," says he, "I understand, not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom
" of

" of the country renders it indecent for cre-
 " ditable people, even of the lowest order, to
 " be without. The Greeks and Romans lived,
 " I suppose, very comfortably, though they had
 " no linen. But in the present times, through
 " the greater part of Europe, a creditable day-
 " labourer would be ashamed to appear in pub-
 " lic without a linen shirt; the want of which
 " would be supposed to denote that disgrace-
 " ful degree of poverty, which it is presumed
 " nobody can well fall into without extreme
 " bad conduct. Custom, in the same manner,
 " has rendered leather shoes a necessary of life
 " in England. The poorest creditable person,
 " of either sex, would be ashamed to appear
 " in public without them. In Scotland, custom
 " has rendered them a necessary of life to the
 " lowest order of men, but not to the same order
 " of women, who may, without any discredit,
 " walk about barefooted. In France, they are
 " necessities neither to men, nor to women; the
 " lowest rank of both sexes appearing there
 " publickly, without any discredit, sometimes
 " with wooden shoes, and sometimes barefoot-
 " ed. Under necessities, therefore, I compre-
 " hend, not only those things which nature,
 " but those things which the established rules

"of decency, have rendered necessary to the
 "lowest rank of the people."

Such comforts and conveniencies as Dr. Smith describes, may, I think, be termed the *artificial necessities* of life; the articles of mere subsistence may be called *absolute* or *natural necessities*: and if it be recollected, that when civilization is somewhat advanced, the exertion of one man is sufficient to provide food for a great many, and that therefore the labour of a few would be sufficient to support the majority, it will be allowed, that man must necessarily remain in a comparative state of inactivity, did he feel no other incentive to labour than the want of absolute and natural necessities. But different conveniencies, and various articles of cloathing, lodging, furniture, and ornament, are gradually invented and aspired after. Each man labours either to gratify himself with them, or to supply his richer neighbour, from whom, in return, he derives the means of furnishing himself with the absolute necessities, and the inferior and more common comforts of life. In order to procure these latter, the working and poorer orders emulate each other, in the cheapness and elegance of their several productions. Industry,
 invention,

invention, and labour, are severally employed, in the collection and improvement of rude materials. The husbandman is roused to supply the artist with food, in order to receive in return a portion of his manufactures. And thus the vanity, taste, and ambition of man, become the springs of labour and industry, and the source of useful employment. The quantity of labour, which the gratification of these desires sets in motion, is much more considerable than can at first view be imagined. The woollen coat, for example, which covers the day labourer, is, as Smith observes, the produce of the joint labour of a multitude of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of wool, the comber, the dyer, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, all join their different arts. How many merchants and carriers besides must have been employed in transporting the materials from some of these workmen to others? How many ship-builders, sailors, sail and rope-makers, must have been employed to bring the different drugs made use of by the dyer? What variety of labour is necessary to produce the tools of the meanest of these workmen? To say nothing of the ship, the fulling-mill, or even the loom, what variety of labour is necessary to form even

the shears of the clipper? the miner, the builder of the furnace, the feller of timber, the burner of charcoal, the brick-maker, the brick-layer, the mill-wright, the forger, the smith, all join their different arts in order to produce them.

From these simple considerations it will appear sufficiently evident, that a certain degree of taste for the necessities of life, as above defined, must be generally felt by a people before they can become industrious. And wherever such desires are strongly felt, and generally diffused, and the means of gratifying them known, and within reach, a people, so circumstanced and actuated, if not prevented by oppression, ill-devised regulations, or other counteracting causes, will necessarily become active industrious, and laborious.

As an example and illustration of what has been advanced, I cannot avoid inserting a genuine and natural little anecdote, related by the celebrated Dr. Franklin. "The skipper," says he, "of a shallop employed between Cape May " and Philadelphia, had done us some small " service, for which he refused to be paid. " My wife, understanding that he had a daugh-
" ter,

“ter, sent her a present of a new-fashioned cap.
 “Three years after, this skipper, being at my
 “house, with an old farmer of Cape May his
 “passenger, he mentioned the cap, and how
 “much his daughter had been pleased with it.
 “But, said he, it proved a dear cap to our
 “congregation.—How so?—When my daughter
 “appeared with it at meeting, it was so much
 “admired that all the girls resolved to get
 “such caps from Philadelphia, and my wife
 “and I computed that the whole could not have
 “cost less than an hundred pounds. True,
 “said the farmer, but you don’t tell all the
 “story. I think the cap was, nevertheless, an
 “advantage to us; for it was the first thing
 “that put our girls upon knitting worsted mit-
 “tens for sale at Philadelphia, that they might
 “have wherewithal to buy caps and ribbons
 “there. And you know that that industry has
 “continued, and is likely to continue, and en-
 “crease to a much greater value, and answer
 “better purposes.”

“In order to derive any advantage from the
 desire of enjoying the artificial necessities of life,
 and the imitative propensities of man, and to
 make them the means of rendering him in-
 dustrious,

dustrious, three circumstances seem materially requisite.—The example to be imitated must be pretty generally diffused among a people. The object it proposes must not be considerably above those already enjoyed. And, to acquire it, although labour and industry should be necessary, they should never be vain and ineffectual.

Why the general diffusion of an example is necessary to its universal adoption, seems easily explicable. One powerful source of the desire of enjoying the conveniencies of life, is that the want of them is uncreditable, and attended with a certain degree of disgrace. But where a considerable number submit to, and experience such wants, the discredit, as in other instances, becomes as it were divided between them; each contentedly bears his own share, and sheltering himself under the example of the many, averts or mitigates the disgrace, to the full force of which he must be exposed, were his situation uncommon, peculiar, or solitary.

To persuade all the inhabitants of a wretchedly built village to form more comfortable and commodious habitations, it is not sufficient that one, or a few of them, should in that respect
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considerably better their situation. Each of the remaining majority sees that his neighbours contentedly inhabit their old huts. Why should he not bear the same inconveniencies? They countenance his indolence, he feels no discredit from his situation, and the example, being partial, is nearly useless.

We may hence derive the reason of the inutility of those small colonies which have been planted in many countries emerging from barbarity, desolation, or indolence, as examples to actuate their inhabitants to industry and labour. Such were in general the families introduced into Ireland from Germany, under the name of *Palatines*, and planted up and down in different counties. They were more industrious, laborious, and frugal, and consequently better fed, and more comfortably lodged, than the generality of the labouring natives; but their mode of life, being confined to a few, was never imitated by their neighbours. And if the inhabitants of several districts of the country are at present as laborious, and live as comfortably as the foreigners then proposed to their imitation, it is to be ascribed, not to the influence of their example, but to changes induced among the
people

people at large. Were the interest and improvement of the natives, the only motives for the plantation of these colonies, such views would have been much more effectually answered by a proper management of the people themselves.

To derive any advantage from the ambition and imitative propensity of man, it is equally necessary, that the improvement, and object of imitation proposed, should not greatly exceed those he already enjoys. Where the difference in this respect is very considerable, so strong is the aversion of the human race to any violent and sudden alteration in the modes of life, that any attempt at introducing such, seems rather to produce an opposite effect, and to confirm a people in their original barbarity and misery. The free savages of America do not appear to have made the smallest progress in civilization since the settlement of the Europeans among them. Their improvement, in this respect, would have probably been much more considerable, had they been left to themselves. Civilization and general association were commencing, as it were, in two points, among them, in the kingdoms of Peru and Mexico. They would probably have diverged from these centres in every

direction ; and as their improvements and alterations must necessarily have been slight and gradual, they would have been more easily and universally adopted, and in the end tended more to have meliorated their condition, than the arts, manners, and civilization of Europe, which being considerably superior to any they were acquainted with, have been generally viewed with neglect or aversion. From similar principles, we may expect the same effects in New Holland. The plantation of our colonies in that country, instead of civilizing its savage natives, may but confirm them more strongly in their original barbarity.

Even in those countries where civilization has made considerable progress among their inhabitants, the same aversion to sudden and great changes is easily discernible. The progress of man in improvement must be gradual, and every alteration and advantage offered to his acceptance must be proportioned to those he is already in possession of, which they should not vary from or exceed in any very considerable degree. The glare of sunshine, which will assist the eye, if progressively introduced, will, if suddenly admitted, but dazzle and confound our vision.

vifion. The fummit of civilization may be attained, by *gradually* advancing from step to step; but any attempt to elevate man at *once* to fuch an eminence, will ever prove fruitless or injurious.

To render the ambition and imitative propensity of man the means of making him induftrious and laborious, it is, in the third place, requifite, that labour and induftry fhould be neceffary to the acquisition of the prizes they propofe, and that fuch labour and induftry fhould never be ill rewarded, fruitless, and ineffectual. —“ Ce n’eft pas affez,” fays Rouffeau, “ d’avoir des citoyens, & de les protéger ; Il faut encore fonger à leur fubfiftence. Ce devoir n’eft pas comme on doit le fentir, de remplir les greniers des particuliers, & les difpenfer du travail : mais de maintenir l’abondance tellement à leur portée, que pour l’acquérir le travail foit toujours néceffaire, & ne foit jamais inutile.”—The maxim, here confined to the abfolute neceffaries, may be with equal juftice extended to the comforts and conveniences of life.

The neceffity of rendering labour and exertion inevitable requifites to the acquisition of
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these necessaries, if our intention be, to make man's passion for enjoying them one of the expedients for rendering him industrious, would seem to require but little illustration; a few proofs, however, will explain the general doctrine, and confirm its justice and importance.

It is a natural principle in the human race to appreciate the value of every acquisition by the degree of difficulty necessary to its attainment. The workman, therefore, who receives but the usual and proportionate reward for his exertions, is the most apt to employ any surplus that remains, after supplying his absolute necessities, as a capital towards encreasing his little stock, and setting a still greater quantity of labour in motion for his further emolument. On the contrary, those who, by slight, temporary exertions, receive rewards or wages disproportionate to their labour, and extravagantly high, in place of encreasing such exertions, and employing their gains in industrious pursuits, will generally be found indigent, idle, and dissolute, and ever squandering their wages as lightly, as they were easily acquired. Of such we have numerous instances in the various attendants upon young men of fortune and extravagance,
and

and the crowds who resort for employment to the different places of public amusement and profusion. This description of people in general receive much higher rewards for their slight and easily effected services, than the labouring workman, ingenious mechanic, or industrious manufacturer; yet where shall we find an assemblage more indolent, extravagant, or depraved? From the same principle does it in a great degree proceed, that cities resorted to by the higher classes of society, and where consequently a great quantity of money is annually spent in prodigal profusion, are generally very disadvantageous situations for manufactures, or any employment which requires the regular exertion of industrious labour. “In mercantile and manufacturing towns,” says Smith, “where the inferior ranks of the people are chiefly maintained by the employment of capital, they are in general industrious, sober, and thriving, as in many English, and in most Dutch towns. In those towns which are principally supported by the constant, or occasional residence of a court, and in which the inferior ranks of people are chiefly maintained by the spending of revenue, they are in general idle, dissolute, and poor, as at Rome, Versailles, Compiègne, and Fontainebleau.”

"tainbleau." To the list we may surely add Dublin. I know not a more disadvantageous situation for any undertaking than the idle and dissipated capital of a country, in which idleness and dissipation are still too predominant; and the effects of such a situation are but too visible, in the riots and clamours of its dissolute and starving manufactures.

From the same principles we may derive the reason, why an industrious village has been sometimes observed to grow idle, on a wealthy lord's fixing his residence near it. The unusual flow, and unequal distribution of money among its inhabitants, poisons that industrious principle, which a more scanty and better proportioned supply, had given birth to, nourished, and rendered flourishing.

The operation of a similar cause is exemplified, and its baneful consequences too fully proved, in the history of the effects of the poor laws of England. The injuries they otherwise occasion, we shall have opportunities to touch on hereafter; at present we have only to notice their tendency to repress industry, and encourage indolence.

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It has just now been shewn, that great and disproportionate rewards, for slight and temporary exertions of labour, instead of rendering those who receive them industrious and laborious, produce an opposite effect, and prove a certain encouragement to indolence and depravity. How much more certainly must an institution produce similar effects; which holds out as it were a premium to idleness; which supplies with food, clothing, and medicine, the indolent wretch who will not work at all; and which levies such supplies on the industry of his laborious neighbours. The English writers on this institution, give but too striking proofs of the various injuries it occasions. Doctor Davenant asserts, that the poor rates of England will ultimately ruin her manufactures; and computes, that those who subsist on them amount to one million two hundred thousand, of whom at least one half would have persisted in the paths of industry and labour, if not seduced from them by the prospect of indolent subsistence on parish charity. The enormity and pressure of the poor rates, has at length roused the inhabitants of some parts of England to a sense of the mischiefs their application has occasioned, and continues to produce; and they have been led to exchange the
usual

usual mode, for the establishment of receptacles, which *really* deserve the name of *Houses of Industry*. This has been particularly effected at Shrewsbury, and an account of the undertaking has been published, which well deserves perusal and attention. From the Introduction of the sensible and benevolent author of this pamphlet I shall select the following passages, which will strongly tend to confirm the opinions which have been advanced. “It is too evident, that
 “while the poor are supported in idleness, they
 “will be averse to labour, and the indolence
 “thus encouraged, is the fruitful parent of that
 “debauchery and depravity, and that consequent
 “wretchedness and misery, which have made so
 “fatal a progress among the lower orders of
 “the community. Every caution will be relaxed, and every profligacy indulged, by men
 “so disposed, from the consideration that neither themselves nor their families can ever
 “starve—Whilst they can have their wants supplied without labour, they will most certainly
 “remain idle; and to obtain this supply, they
 “are naturally tempted to fabricate falsehoods,
 “and impose themselves as objects of charity on
 “the officer, or the magistrate. Indeed, when
 “their distresses are real, they are commonly

“produced by that idleness and dissipation, which
 “their dependance upon this parochial relief
 “encourages and promotes.” As the diffusion
 of the knowledge of the best means of remedy-
 ing such evils must be beneficial, and as the best
 means of providing employment for the poor,
 and dependant on parish charity may be con-
 sidered a branch of the question before us, I
 shall insert in a note, the measures which have
 been adopted in the Shrewsbury House of In-
 dustry; they are consonant to reason and hu-
 manity, have been proved efficacious by expe-
 rience, and should be attended to in the esta-
 blishment of all similar institutions *.

Although

* “—To provide a comfortable asylum for the de-
 “serving, poor, whom age, disease, or infirmity, have
 “disabled from pursuing their various employments, a
 “*House of Industry*, under the direction of a *Board*, sufficient-
 “ly numerous to attend to the various departments, which
 “will demand their care, and by a well-digested plan, and
 “regulations maturely weighed, to introduce that *method and*
 “*order*, which will greatly lighten the burden of this attend-
 “ance.—In this house, to provide employment for those
 “poor, who are able to work, but are either averse to labour,
 “or cannot otherwise procure it—those who are thrown
 “upon the parish by the mandate of the magistrate, those
 “children

Although it is to be concluded, however, that both supporting indolence, and rewarding with disproportionate liberality, exertions of a flight, temporary, and desultory nature, are incentives to idleness, and obstacles to industry; yet it is not to be at the same time concluded, that the patient, persevering, systematic labourer can in

“ children whom it is obliged to take care of—and those also
 “ whom the parents, though industrious, are not able to
 “ maintain—By firmness and resolution, tempered with gentleness and humanity, to introduce and establish among the
 “ members of this family a habit of labour, of cleanliness,
 “ and of decency—To provide therein, for the regular daily
 “ discharge of those religious duties, which have a tendency
 “ to correct their morals—And most especially to furnish
 “ the means of instruction for children, and youth; and by
 “ a *total and complete separation of these from the abandoned and*
 “ *depraved*, to place them out of the way of temptation, and
 “ prevent the fatal contagion of profligate discourse, and
 “ vicious example—To encourage *all* by treating them with
 “ humanity, and good humour, *distributing among them suitable*
 “ *rewards*, in proportion to their industry, and good conduct; and to punish the refractory, and disorderly, by
 “ withholding those rewards, by solitary confinement, or, in
 “ extreme cases, by corporeal punishment.” The particular bye-laws and regulations, by which these are effected, will be best understood by consulting the pamphlet, intitled “ *Some Account of the Shrewsbury House of Industry,*” &c. 1791. 8vo.

general be too amply rewarded. On the contrary, where the working class are of this description, I am convinced, that "the liberal reward of labour, as it encourages the propagation, so it increases the industry, of the common people." This maxim, however, must be received with some restrictions, which we shall endeavour to point out. We shall next endeavour to enforce the *general* justice of the observation, and to answer the arguments adduced in opposition to it.

One exception to the universal application of this maxim, is that just now noticed, viz. that where the exertions of the labourer are slight, temporary, and desultory, high rewards, in place of increasing his industry, will always promote idleness and dissipation. The maxim would also appear inapplicable to any people who worked merely for subsistence, and among whom no taste for the artificial necessities of life prevailed; and this would particularly be the case if they were addicted to idle amusements, drunkenness, or any other species of debauchery. Among such a people, any considerable increase in wages, or the other rewards of labour, unless very cautiously

cautiously and gradually introduced, would be dissipated in gratifying the vicious inclinations they are subject to ; and in place of increasing their industry, would produce the opposite baneful effect.

But however well-founded these, or any other partial exceptions may be, the general justice of the position under consideration cannot well be controverted. "The wages of labour," as Smith observes, "are the encouragement of industry, which, like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives." It will accordingly, on examination, be discovered, that where the wages of labour are high, the labourer will be always found more industrious and laborious, than where they are low ; in England and Holland, for instance, than in Ireland or France. And we thence may deduce the reason, why manufactures will not fly to those countries where the price of labour is low, though such are the fears of every short-sighted and selfish individual engaged in them. On the contrary, we always find the wages of labour comparatively high, wherever manufactures are established ; and wherever they

are introduced, wages will always rise. But we deviate from the subject before us. The circumstance was introduced to shew, that high rewards and wages in general increase the industry of the people. They not only increase their industry, in the proper acceptation of the term, but they stimulate them to greater personal and bodily exertions. Of this we have daily instances in labourers set to work by *the piece*. We have also, among many others, a striking proof of it in Mr. Young's Tour through Ireland. "Though my residence in Ireland," says he, "was not long enough to become a perfect master of the question, yet I have employed from twenty to fifty men for several months, and found their habitual laziness, or weakness, so great, whether working by measure, or by day, that I am absolutely convinced that one shilling and sixpence, or even two shillings a-day in Suffolk or Hertfordshire, is much cheaper than sixpence halfpenny at Mitchelstown—yet I have known the Irish reapers in Hertfordshire work as laboriously as any of our own men, and living upon potatoes, which they procured from London, but drinking nothing but ale,"

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The liberal reward of labour, besides its immediate effect in increasing the industry and exertions of the individual, has a similar tendency indirectly, by the encouragement it gives to population. Where the wages of the labourer are more than adequate to his immediate subsistence, the natural tendency which man in general feels to matrimonial connection is not checked by reflecting on the impossibility of supporting a family on those earnings which are barely adequate to the supply of one. Besides, where the earnings of the parent are considerable, children are not only produced, but arrive at maturity: an event frequently, I fear, prevented by low wages, and consequent poverty, wretched covering, and scanty and unwholesome food. But to what more powerful incentive to industry, labour, and frugality, can we have recourse, than the wants and claims of a numerous and rising progeny? they stimulate the parent to every exertion, and copying his example, become in their turn industrious and useful members of society.

In opposition to the opinion, that high wages encourage industry, it has been said, that in dear years the working class are more industri-

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ous and inclined to labour, than in cheap ones ; and as their wages are *nominally* the same in both cases, they must *in effect* be higher in cheap than in dear seasons, and this variation is, therefore, a proof, that the liberal reward of labour does not produce the effect of increasing the industry and application of the workman. To do away this conclusion, it may, in the first place, be remarked, that the observation is by no means universally just. Doctor Smith could not find, upon examination, that the variation of the produce of the linen manufacture in Scotland, or of the woollen manufacture in Yorkshire, bore any sensible connection with the dearth or cheapness of the seasons; and monsieur Mefance, a very respectable French author, shews, by comparing the produce of three extensive manufactures in wool, linen, and silk, that the poor do *more* work in cheap than dear years. The observation has, indeed, been generally made by those whose interest warped their ideas upon the subject ; by masters of every denomination, who generally find they can make better bargains with journeymen, and servants, in dear than in cheap years ; which arises partly from the increased demand for them in cheap seasons, partly from several journeymen working
for

for themselves in the same cheap years, which they cannot accomplish in dear ones. But this is no proof that the *general* industry of the society is diminished by cheap seasons, or liberal wages *.

If liberal wages ever do discourage industry, it must be the industry of the wretch who works for mere subsistence, or the forced industry of the indolent and dissolute; and even to produce this effect, the increase must be sudden and transitory, not gradual and permanent: a settled liberal reward of labour can never produce such an effect. Of this, and of the general justice of the position we wish to establish, there is a striking proof, the usual effects of emigration to America on the labouring poor of European countries; the wages of all kinds of labour are there considerably higher than those they have been accustomed to receive; yet, in place of checking their industry, this in general

* The people called *Drapers* in the North of Ireland, are all desirous to have provisions high; they never wish to see oat-meal under one penny per pound. They can in such cases extort better bargains from the weavers. See Young. I am happy to see our government, more enlightened, give a bounty on the importation of corn to the manufacturing counties, when above a certain price.

produces

produces a contrary effect. Their views become enlarged, they store up the overplus of their wages till they can work for themselves, or purchase a plantation and turn farmers; and thus, notwithstanding the continual influx and increase of inhabitants, the demand for labour is constant, the labourer is liberally recompensed, becomes industrious himself, and the means of exerting and rewarding industry in others.

Although the reward of labour should be *nomi-*
nally high, yet from different causes the artificial necessities of life may be so dear, that the overplus remaining, after providing actual subsistence, may be inadequate to the purchase of them. A taste and desire for such necessities, however, we have shewn to be one great source of individual and national industry. The government of a country should, therefore, studiously avoid raising the price of such articles by taxation. To this circumstance, however, sufficient attention has not, I fear, been paid. The taxes on soap, leather, and the coarser kind of manufactures destined for the consumption of the poor, which are levied in different countries, are all of the nature alluded to. Such taxes produce one immediately detrimental effect; that
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of raising the price of different manufactures, and thereby depriving a country of foreign trade, and lucrative export. This they effect, by necessarily raising the workman's wages; a rise which to him is only nominal, as he is as badly able as before such addition to purchase the different articles he has occasion for. But their effects are, perhaps, even more detrimental in the other way; especially in countries where a spirit of industry has not been established, but is to be excited and nourished. If the working class find it impossible by every exertion to obtain an overplus, after procuring actual subsistence, sufficient to enable them to purchase the artificial necessities of life, they will entirely abandon such expectations; and, deprived of this spur to industry, labour, and exertion, will sink into indolence, content with the mere materials of wretched existence. Let the financier, then, reflect, that by levying a supply from the comforts and necessities of the workman, he not only injures his country in the foreign market, but checks the industry of its natives, by depriving them of a principal incitement to labour; and renders their habitations the abodes of wretchedness, misery, and indolence.

Such

Such are the principal cautions to be observed, if we wish to render the imitative propensity of man, and his desire of enjoying the artificial necessities of life, the means of making him industrious and laborious. Let us next consider what other expedients may be had recourse to with the greatest prospect of success.

The man of fortune which arises from an annual income or revenue, and who spends that revenue in supplying the various wants of himself and family, no doubt promotes industry, in so far as he is a purchaser of the different articles of consumption produced by different workmen and artists. A considerable part, however, of the revenue of such an individual, is spent in the support of menial servants, and attendants of different descriptions, whose labour is lost to society, as not being realized in any article of manufacture or rude produce; and who, in place of earning the wages of industry, may in general be said to live upon the bread of idleness. The example of the family of such a citizen, likewise, from which industry is usually completely banished, has necessarily the effect of diminishing the industry of its neighbours and dependents. The indirect encouragement to the
industry

industry of his country, which such a citizen gives, will be still diminished, if a considerable part of his revenue is spent in articles produced by foreign labour.

On the other hand, the man of business, who, in place of living on revenue, employs a capital in any branch of agriculture or manufactures, sets an example of industry, which is transfused among all connected with him, supports a multitude of hands, whose labour is realized, and whose wages are rated in proportion to their utility, application and industry.

The employment of *capital*, therefore, in any country, is a principal encouragement to the industry of its inhabitants. The celebrated doctor Smith deems it its chief source and support. "The proportion," says he, "between capital and revenue seems every where to regulate the proportion between industry and idleness: every increase or diminution of capital, therefore, naturally tends to increase or diminish the real quantity of industry, the number of productive hands, and consequently the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, the
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"real wealth and revenue of all its inhabitants."
 "ants."

This may be deemed rather noticing a fact in the history of national industry, than developing the means of rendering a nation industrious. The accumulation of capital presupposes some degree of industry; its application and employment are the effects of a continuation of the same principle. But in this, as in several other instances, effects become in their turn causes, more powerful in their operation than those which originally produced them. Industry, like fame, acquires additional vigour in its progress, and every individual of her family becomes in turn the parent of an offspring equally prolific and beneficial as the original stock.

Besides the influence already noticed, by which the imitative propensity of man becomes the means of rendering him industrious; when industry is once set on foot, the power of example, as above hinted, tends in another manner to extend and increase it. "The human mind," says Hume, "is of a very imitative nature, nor is it possible for any set of men to converse often together, without acquiring a similitude
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“ of manners, and communicating to each other
 “ their vices as well as virtues. The propensity
 “ to company and society, is strong in all ra-
 “ tional creatures; and the same disposition which
 “ gives us this propensity, makes us enter deep-
 “ ly into each other’s sentiments, and causes like
 “ passions and inclinations to run, as it were
 “ by contagion, through the whole club or knot
 “ of companions. Where a number of men are
 “ united into one political body, the occasions of
 “ their intercourse must be so frequent, for de-
 “ fence, commerce, or government, that, toge-
 “ ther with the same speech and language, they
 “ must acquire a resemblance in their manners;
 “ and have a common or national character, as
 “ well as a personal one, peculiar to each indi-
 “ vidual.”

On this principle, there certainly is a founda-
 tion for the opinion, that every nation is marked
 by some peculiar character; and with respect to
 industrious pursuits, we have a striking instance
 of its effects in Holland, where it is unfashion-
 able for a man not to be employed in some
 species of business; and whenever in any coun-
 try, a number of its inhabitants come to be
 employed in industrious occupations, their exam-

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ple alone, independent of the intrinsic attractions of industry, will lead others into similar pursuits.

Although the legislature of a country cannot force its subjects to industry and labour, it may give them indirect encouragement thereto, by checking such practices as are most detrimental to its progress. Of such practices none are more injurious, to none are a poor and indolent people more inclined, than drunkenness; nor is there any, perhaps, not liable to immediate punishment, which can be more effectually checked by the proper exertions of legislative power. To this purpose statutes will avail but little; the plain and efficacious mode appears to be, taxing the materials of ebriety, whether directly or indirectly, so high, as to render the gratification of the desire extremely difficult to the lower and laborious class. If a beverage can be discovered, possessed of the exhilarating powers of spirituous liquors, properly so called, but not liable to the same abuse, and at the same time strengthening and nutritious, that should certainly be afforded them at the cheapest rate possible. Such we well know to be those generally termed Malt Liquors; on these, the taxes, if *any* be levied, should

should be as light as possible : on those of a contrary description, they should be proportionately heavy. Let not the circumstance of a slight alteration in the amount of the revenue, influence, in this instance, the determinations of the legislator. If any deficiency is occasioned by the measure, let it rather be made up in some other mode. The statesman is to look forward to consequences ; his views should be enlarged ; and if he extends them, he must perceive, that the prevalence of drunkenness will in the end injure the revenue of a state, infinitely more than any temporary loss, which can be otherwise supplied. Need the effects of that vice be particularly detailed, which ruins the health of the labourer, checks the population of a country, dissipates the funds, and annihilates the spirit of industry, and spreads its baneful contagion from an individual through his starving family, from starving families through an idle and impoverished nation ? No ; its effects are too visible, wherever its prevalence is experienced ; and too injurious not to require every exertion and sacrifice towards its extirpation.

The legislature of a country may also excite and support a spirit of industry among a people, by

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providing

providing a proper and universal system of education. It is equally extraordinary, and to be regretted, that in all governments, any plan of education which might embrace the children of the inferior orders seems to have been neglected. Education, however, is the power which principally forms the character of an individual; and were a plan of the nature alluded to devised, and properly conducted, to no principle of greater efficacy could we possibly have recourse, towards reforming or modelling the manners of a people. As a dissertation on this subject, however, has already been honoured by the Academy with a prize, any further remarks may here be deemed superfluous. The subject does honour to their choice, and it is to be hoped our nation will soon see some such system carried into execution.

The legislature may also promote the industry of a nation, by encouraging particular branches of employment. But of this we must naturally defer the discussion to the third section. At present, let it suffice to observe, that however upright and benevolent the intention may be, measures of this nature should be adopted with the greatest caution. The most discerning politician

tician is at best but short-sighted: particular branches of industry may be encouraged, nay, principally supported at the expence, and to the depression of others, more beneficial to the state, and more productive of employment to the community. The selfish views of individuals combine with the natural intricacy of the general interests of a nation, to deceive and mislead the statesman, and to render such attempts the most delicate and difficult he can possibly undertake.

Such appear to be the principal general measures, which can be directly employed, towards exciting a spirit of industry among the people; and from a review of them it will be evident—that its progress must at first be naturally slow—that the immediate means which can be employed by any legislature towards its encouragement and diffemination, are necessarily tedious and feeble in their operation—and that it is from the operation of that natural tendency and desire, which almost every man feels of bettering his situation, we are chiefly to expect its commencement, propagation, and increase.

Though the legislature of a state, however, be naturally cramped and confined, in the direct

means which can be resorted to for rendering a people industrious, they can indirectly facilitate and promote its progress, to a very considerable degree, by removing or diminishing those impediments to its free exertion, which the enlightened politician will find existing, in greater or less proportion, in almost every state. This naturally leads to the second section of our subject, which we shall next proceed to consider.

S E C T I O N II

On the principal Impediments to Industry and Labour which exist under different Forms of Government.

Difficulty of removing the impediments to industry—Want of general liberty—Proofs of its impeding and depressing industry—From a review of the history of industrious nations—From the history of the rise of industry in the middle ages—From tracing the progress of industry—Insecurity of property—Instances of this—Injudicious taxes—General errors in taxation—Taxes on necessaries—Taxes raised from, and proportioned to the produce of industry—Tithe—Personal taille—Taxes on the wages of labour—Taxes impeding the operations of industry—Internal duties—Alcavala—Taxes on materials employed in industry—Taxes on exportation—Corporations—impede industry and employment in two ways—by forming exclusive companies; and, levying taxes and tolls—Exclusive companies.

S E C T I O N II.

THE removal of every impediment or obstruction to industry and labour, and consequently to the employment of the people, forms a necessary and interesting division of the subject before us. The writer, however, who attempts to enumerate such impediments, to develop their injurious tendency, and to enforce by argument the necessity of their correction or removal, assumes, as far as speculation goes, the functions of a state reformer; a character, in general, disliked at once, and useless: disliked, because interfering with the interests of many; useless, because neglected, or successfully counteracted and opposed.

It is impossible to discover any error in the politics and constitution of a state, in the continuation of which, many individuals are not personally interested. Such will always with clamour and outcry oppose any innovation, however considerable the benefits to society at large, by which it may be attended; such will ever depreciate the views, arraign the motives, and counteract

teract the exertions, of the person who may propose the alteration. It is to be lamented that in general the efforts of these characters have been too successful ; and that where the injurious nature of many institutions is as certain, as that their correction or removal would be beneficial, the opposition to such change has been frequently crowned with success, and has perpetuated, or at least prolonged, their existence.

But however slight may be our expectations of introducing the changes, or effecting the improvement, here alluded to ; it is the duty of the essayist upon the present subject, to expose those causes which may impede or prevent the employment of the people ; and consequently to notice the errors and vices in government and politics which produce such effects.

Deferring to the second part, any circumstances of this nature, which particularly affect the Irish nation, we shall here confine ourselves to those most universally existing, and most general in their operation.

The first circumstance I shall notice, as counteracting the spirit of industry, and consequently obstructing

obstructing or preventing the employment of a people, is, *the want of general liberty*. This is an obstruction to employment, which in our islands is happily unknown. It has, however, existed there—it still exists in several nations, and its pernicious operation is as constant, as considerable. To define the precise nature and extent of liberty, necessary to the support and advancement of industry, would be extremely difficult, and is a task I shall not attempt. From general consideration it would appear, that that state enjoys a degree of liberty sufficient to the encouragement of industry, wherein, 1. The laws are not liable to be changed at the arbitrary will of any individual, and are enacted by an assembly elected from the people. 2. Where every individual enjoys equal protection and security from the laws; and, 3. Where taxes are assessed by a similar assembly, and levied indiscriminately on all ranks.

Minutely to develop the particular modes, by which the want of general liberty represses the industry, and checks the employment of a people, would seem a tedious, and in a great degree an unnecessary task. Many of the impediments which we shall shortly notice, are the pro-

progeny of despotism, and an explanation of their injurious tendency, will in a great measure unfold the principal causes immediately destructive of industry, resulting from such a form of government. It here seems sufficient to prove in general, that the want of liberty is a considerable bar and impediment to the industrious exertions of man; and this proof we shall deduce, from a wide and rapid survey, of the history, and present situation, of different nations.

If we consider the different appearance of those countries, which once possessed a free form of government, but which at present labour under the oppression of despotism, we shall find that such a change has almost uniformly produced the effect of annihilating their industry, manufactures, and commerce. Tyre, at first possessed of freedom, was the parent of that trade and industry, which has since enriched so many nations. Greece, enjoying a still greater degree of liberty, was roused by her example, became, as well as her free colonies on the coast of Asia, the principal seat of the commerce and industry of the world, and continued such while their freedom lasted. Carthage, the child of Tyre, surpassed even her parent, as well in liberty as
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in trade ; possessed both of the richest regions of Africa, and the fertile provinces of Spain, her fleets covered all the then navigated parts of the ocean, and her commerce and industry, population and riches, increased, till ruined by the conquest and despotism of Rome. All these countries, however, so blest in situation, fertility, and natural productions, exhibit at present the most instructive instances of the effects of despotic power. Reduced and degraded by its oppression, their population has been diminished, commerce, except that of strangers, banished from their shores, and the spirit of industry and labour completely annihilated,

The impediments and obstructions to trade and industry, which necessarily result from a despotic and slavish form of government, and the encouragement they receive from the enjoyment of a competent degree of liberty, are strikingly exemplified in the history of the revival of trade, commerce, and manufactures, in Europe. The spirit of the feudal form of government, which so universally prevailed in all European states, was such, that while it allowed almost unrestrained license to a few powerful barons, it subjected the great body of the people to the
oppression

oppression of arbitrary and unlimited authority. Industry and the arts were accordingly almost completely extirpated, commerce was nearly unknown, and the few and miserable itinerant traders who continued its semblance, were exposed to exactions and insults the most discouraging and oppressive. Venice, sheltered by her situation from the oppression and despotism to which other states were exposed, acquired a degree of liberty in her government which gave birth to and cherished industry, manufactures, and commerce. Genoa and Pisa, acquiring a similar degree of freedom, became her rivals in trade; their liberty and industry were in the same degree progressive, and received reciprocal assistance from each other. Remote from the residence of their German sovereigns, many other cities of Italy made similar successive efforts, and acquired that liberty and independence, which, wherever established, proved strikingly beneficial.

Actuated by motives of self-interest, rather than enlarged and liberal views of policy, the other sovereigns of the middle ages, desirous of curbing the power of the barons, conferred parti-

cular privileges on cities, similar to those the Italian states had acquired by their own exertions, and thus exempted their inhabitants from the oppression to which the other subjects of the state were exposed. "This acquisition of liberty," as the historian of Charles the Fifth observes, "made such a happy change in the condition of all the members of such communities, as roused them from that stupidity and inaction, into which they had been sunk by the wretchedness of their former state. The spirit of industry revived, commerce became an object of attention, and began to flourish; population increased; independence was established; and wealth flowed into cities, which had long been the seat of poverty and oppression." Poland, even at present, affords us a memorable instance of the destructive tendency of that form of government, wherein the *few* were lawless masters, the *multitude* miserable slaves. The feudal system has continued with little melioration or change: the country which it oppresses, notwithstanding the general improvement of Europe, remains beggarly, distressed, and miserable; and its inhabitants should ever execrate the despot, who has too successfully opposed

opposed a revolution, which every liberal mind must wish is only deferred to a more favourable opportunity.

If we persist in tracing the progress of industry and trade, after their first revival, the general position intended to be established will be further confirmed; and we shall find, that liberty is as necessary to their increase and continuance, as to their birth and origin. This appears abundantly evident from the history of those states, which have most excelled in commerce and industry: they have been almost uniformly blessed with liberty, and a free form of government. Of such we have only to cite from antiquity, the instances of Athens, Rhodes, the Grecian colonies in Asia, and Carthage; from the middle ages, Venice, Genoa, and the cities of the Hanseatic league; and in modern days we are furnished with similar proofs, by England, Holland, and the free states of America.

The next obstacle to the industry and employment of a people we shall notice, and which, indeed, is generally experienced in despotic governments only, is

Insecurity

Insecurity of property. Wherever the acquisitions of labour, industry, and frugality, are not held sacred, and protected from the grasp of power, their exertions will be more effectually repressed, than by any other expedient whatever. The rapine and exactions of the bashaws of Turkey, are alone sufficient to keep its trade and industry in a state of perpetual infancy: even in the more moderate governments of Spain, and France before the late revolution, contributions similar in their nature, though levied with more formality, and less violence, have had their share in depressing the commerce and industry of those nations. But deferring to the head of *improper taxes*, the consideration of those impediments, I shall here only notice a few of the exactions which in the middle ages subsisted in every country in Europe, and which are still observable in many.

Independent of the occasional and arbitrary demands, frequently made by rapacious princes and barons on their inferiors, they often raised contributions for real or imaginary services. Such were the recompences given for the protection of a powerful lord; the fine of a year's rent paid on the investiture of an estate; the payment of a
 minor's

minor's income during his minority to his superiors, reserving only the sum adequate to his immediate support. Of a similar nature were the presents made on the wedding of the baron's eldest son. The mockery of justice was also rendered the means of extracting contributions: the fifth part of the value of every subject, the property of which was tried in his court, was paid to the baron. The institution of *purveyance*, which still subsists in every monarchy in Europe, (England, and France since the revolution, excepted) is another instance of oppressive exaction, and insecurity of property. When the king's troops, or his attendants, or officers of any description, passed through the country, the peasants were obliged to furnish them with carriages, horses, provisions, and other conveniences, at a price which an attendant officer, termed a *purveyor*, regulated at discretion. When a peasant took any portion of land by lease, he was liable, beside paying the rent, and performing the other covenants it contained, to certain services not stipulated therein, and which being supposed to be regulated by the custom of the barony, were in a great measure arbitrary, and frequently infringed on the property of the tenant. It is not long since this custom was abo-

lished in Scotland.—But it is needless to persist in stating the various modes of exaction, pursued in the days of barbarism, or which are still observable in despotic governments. It is equally needless to adduce any arguments to prove, that all similar institutions, in so far as they render property insecure, are detrimental to industry. Why should man labour for the acquisition of a prize, the possession of which is uncertain, and dependent on the will of *one* or *many* tyrants?

A considerable number of the impediments to industry, and consequent obstructions to the employment of the people, may be ranked under the head of

Injudicious taxes. These we shall accordingly proceed to consider particularly, premising a few observations on injudicious taxation in general. A tax is that portion of his revenue, which every individual pays towards the support of the government under which he lives, and by which his property, from whatever source it arises, is protected. It is the resignation of part of his wealth, for the protection and preservation of the remainder. The contribution should, therefore, be as justly as possible proportioned to the value

due of the possession, towards the preservation of which it is contributed. Such proportionate assessment we shall call the *equality of taxation*, every deviation from it a degree of *inequality*, which, as principally oppressive to the lower and laborious order of the people, must ever prove impolitic, injurious, and destructive of industry. The amount of the contribution granted for the purposes above stated should ever be clearly defined, and ascertained, and not subject in the most remote degree to the determination or caprice of the assessor or collector. Any deviation from this maxim occasions an *incertainty* in taxation, as oppressive to the inferior part of the community, and consequently as injurious to their industry and employment, as the *inequality* just noticed.

These appear to be the two leading and universally injurious errors to be avoided in the imposition of taxes. They have not, however, been always avoided; and, as instances, we shall, out of many others, adduce an example of each, which existed in France before the late revolution. The nobility and clergy, who possessed the greatest portion of revenue, and who consequently should in the same proportion contri-

bute more than any others to the exigencies of the state, were totally exempt from the land-tax, which consequently fell on the industrious labourer. This was an inequality indefensible on any rational principles, degrading in its *appearance*, ruinous in its effects. An example of destructive *incertainty* of taxation could have been furnished by the same unfortunate country. In the collection of what was called the *personal taille*, every contributor was assessed in proportion to what was supposed his ability of payment; but this ability was determined at will, by certain parish officers, whom ignorance, malice, animosity, or resentment might, and undoubtedly did, upon several occasions, mislead. No man could be certain of the amount of his contribution. His property was in a great degree at the mercy of petty and interested despots, and his industry was consequently checked, oppressed, or annihilated. These two defects in taxation, Inequality and Incertainty, are the *generally* operating errors destructive of industry, to be carefully avoided or meliorated. Let us next consider more particularly what are the *species* of taxation which principally injure and repress the industry and employment of a people. These may be arranged under three heads; the first,

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comprehending taxes which increase the price of the necessaries of life. The second, taxes raised from, and proportioned to, the produce of industry. And the third, including those which impede the operations of industry.

1. Any taxes, levied on the *artificial* necessities of life, must inevitably raise their price, and render their acquisition more difficult to the inferior and labouring orders of the people; but the spirit of industry, as has already been shewn, arises in a great degree from the desire of acquiring these necessities, and will, therefore, be checked by any assessment which raises their price so high as to place them beyond the reach of these classes of the community. The operation of such taxes, in this way, has been already explained. Taxes on the *absolute* necessities of life are equally destructive, and where both are conjoined, the discouragement to employment they occasion must be equally certain and considerable. If by such taxes the price of the necessities of life is raised so high, as that the earnings of industrious labour are not equal to their purchase, he who is roused to daily exertions by the pressing calls of nature, finding all his efforts inadequate to their gratification, will

either expire in misery, support a useless, indolent and miserable existence on the scanty supplies of charity, or, spurred on to desperation, will brave the laws and disturb the order of society, and in rapine seek that relief which the steadiest exertions of industry could not furnish.

Hear the opinion of the eloquent Raynal on the effects of such injudicious imposts. "Mais
 " si la taxe porte sur les denrées de premier be-
 " soin, c'est le comble de la cruauté. Avant
 " toutes les loix sociales, l'homme avoit le droit
 " de subsister: l'a-t-il perdu par l'établissement
 " des loix? Surprendre au peuple les fruits de
 " la terre, c'est lui ravir par un impot, les moyens
 " naturel de la conserver. En pressurant la sub-
 " sistance de l'indigent, l'état lui ôte les forces,
 " avec les alimens. D'un homme pauvre, il fait
 " un mendiant, d'un travailleur, un oisif; d'un
 " malheureux, un scélérat; c'est à dire qu'il con-
 " duit un famélique à l'échafaud par la misère."

Beside their immediate effects on the individual, such taxes are destructive to the industry and employment of a people in two other ways, by checking population, and raising the price
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of manufactured produce destined for exportation.

The more populous any country is, the more considerable will be the demand for the different articles, absolutely, or artificially, necessary to life; the raising and manufacturing such are the principal sources of employment; but how can be devised a more effectual bar to population, than scanty or difficultly acquired subsistence, which prevents matrimonial connection, or, if such connection takes place, renders its progeny feeble, or prematurely deprives them of existence?

Taxes on the natural or artificial necessities of life, must raise, in a greater or less degree, the wages of labour. Any increase in the wages of labour must necessarily raise the price of those articles, in the produce or manufacture of which it is employed; and this rise, if considerable, will inevitably deprive any country of the foreign market for such commodities, and discourage their consumption in the home. Nay, in time, prohibitory laws will not prevent foreigners from supplying even the home market with such articles: when the temptation becomes considerable.

able enough, they will be introduced by smuggling, and their manufacture or cultivation be completely annihilated. These observations hold particularly as to manufactures, and where, as in the modern states of Europe, the employment of so many hands depends upon their flourishing condition, the statesman cannot be too cautious of adopting any measure which may tend to depress or destroy them. The destructive tendency of taxes on the necessaries of life has been long experienced in Holland; and the injuries they occasion are daily increasing. Almost every necessary of life is there highly taxed; even flour, when ground at the mill, or baked at the oven, pays a duty. Similar impositions take place in Genoa, Modena, and many other Italian states. De Wit observes, that in his time such multiplied taxes had raised the price of Dutch cloth forty per cent.; and they have at length almost entirely destroyed their once flourishing manufactures in wool, silk, gold, silver, and other materials. The general decay of their trade is probably to be attributed, in a great measure, to the same cause; and if England be not cautious, she may in time experience the same misfortune.

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2. The next division we shall consider is that of taxes raised from, and proportioned to, the produce of industry. Were a man of sound, common sense, and general observation, requested to devise the most effectual and practicable expedient, next to that of absolute prohibition, for impeding the exertions of industry, he would, it is most likely, propose a tax of the nature we have mentioned. If the legislature were desirous of discouraging the prosecution of any particular manufacture, how could their intentions be more effectually answered, than by loading its produce with a certain impost, and proportioning its amount to that of the article manufactured? Such a tax would be necessarily injurious, in proportion to the value of the branch of industry affected by it particularly, and to the number of labourers employed in its prosecution. Of the various occupations in which mankind are employed, none, as we shall hereafter have occasion to shew, are of such importance, none afford employment to so many labourers, as agriculture. A tax, therefore, on its prosecution, of the nature we have described, must necessarily be an imposition, injurious in its effects, general in its operation, and more efficacious than any other assessment, in diminishing the demand
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for labour, and checking the employment of the people; precisely, however, of this nature is the tax termed

Tithe, which must always operate as a clog to industry, and an impediment to agricultural improvement; and this will be particularly the case, where it is rigorously exacted in kind, unless purchased at the full market price. The establishment of what has been termed a *modus*, or a certain stated acreable compensation, for the tithe of the different titheable articles of rude produce, would tend in a great degree to obviate the injurious effects of the tithe system, as at present generally established. The consideration, that the church, which runs no risk, and lays out no capital, is to derive an advantage from the most expensive cultivation and improvement, proportionate to the industry, skill, attention, and expence of the farmer, must undoubtedly check and considerably discourage his exertions. Were the amount of the tax *certain*, and not thus proportioned, the evil would be considerably meliorated.

The cultivation of madder, while the tithe of it was exacted in kind in England, was confined

to Holland, where no such tax is known ; and the English dyers were obliged to resort thither for the necessary supplies of this useful plant. A statute was at length passed, enacting, that five shillings an acre should be received, as a modus for all tithe of madder, and since that period its cultivation has been introduced, and is rapidly increasing. The modus in lieu of the tithe of the rudiments of manufactures should be light: in England that for flax and hemp is never to exceed five shillings per acre. As an encouragement to the reclaiming barren grounds, it would seem but reasonable to exempt them from tithe for a certain period after their first cultivation : the produce of such lands is for some time, in general, little more than sufficient to replace the capital laid out in their improvement. One would imagine the interests of the church should lead them to concede to this indulgence, from which a considerable increase to their revenue must ultimately arise : in England, cultivated lands of this description are tithe-free for seven years.

Tithe, when rigorously exacted in kind, is considerably destructive in its effects, and particularly impedes the employment of the people,
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in those countries where agriculture is in its infancy, and where little capital is possessed by the cultivators of the earth: this, however, we shall have a better opportunity of shewing when we come to treat of the particular circumstances of Ireland; till which time we shall defer any further observations respecting it: suffice it here to remark, that, in such countries, particular attention should be paid to soften its rigours, and remedy its inconveniencies as much as possible.

The tax levied in France before the late revolution, under the name of the *personal taille*, is another instance of a destructive impost, proportioned to the supposed profits, and consequently to the industry of the people. The injurious tendency of this tax, as an arbitrary and unequal one, we have already had occasion to notice. Its having been proportioned to the profits of the farmer, rendered it doubly destructive and oppressive. The profits of the farmer were generally estimated by the state of cultivation of the farm, and the quantity of stock he possessed upon it. To render the tax, therefore, light, he employed as little stock as possible, and the cultivation of his lands was proportionably wretched and miserable: to increase his stock, to im-

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prove his cultivation, were certain means of augmenting his proportion of the assessment. If any capital accumulated in his hands, this was a certain prohibition against his laying it out on the farm ; and it was equally efficacious in preventing those already possessed of capital from employing it in agricultural improvement : a more absurd and ruinous engine of extortion and oppression, than an assessment of this nature, can scarcely be devised. Almost equally injurious are *taxes on the wages of labour* ; the effects of which, as Smith justly observes, must be “ the declension of industry, the decrease of employment for the poor, and the diminution of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country.” Such taxes, however, have been, and are exacted. In France, before the revolution, the industry of day-labourers was rendered one of the sources of revenue ; their labour was estimated at two hundred working days in the year, from the scanty wages of which, a certain portion was subtracted, the amount of which varied from season to season, according to the judgment or caprice of the collector. In Bohemia artificers are divided into four classes ; the first pay each to the amount of about nine pounds seven shillings and sixpence a year ; the second,

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about six pounds eleven shillings and three-pence; the third four pounds thirteen shillings and nine-pence; and the fourth, half the latter sum. *Capitation taxes*, when levied on the lower orders of the people, are to be considered in the same light as taxes on the wages of labour. Such classes in general possess no other source of payment.

3. A third division of injurious taxes remains to be considered, including those particularly affecting the operations of industry. Of these we shall notice some of the most remarkable. Every species of taxation, which interrupts or harrasses the freedom of the internal trade of any country, is certainly a considerable impediment to the operations of industry: the interior commerce of any great nation, being that of the most considerable importance to its inhabitants; and the home market being necessarily the most extensive and regular, for the different productions of their labour, both should be as free as possible from duties, examination, or restriction. It is to the freedom of internal commerce which prevails in Great Britain, that doctor Smith attributes in a great degree its riches and prosperity. Other countries, however, have not been so fortunate.

Nothing

Nothing so effectually impedes the interior commerce of a country as its being laden with duties; especially if they be not uniform. In France, previous to the late change of government, a different system of taxation prevailed in different districts: few goods could enter one province, or pass through it to another, without paying certain imposts, which varied in each, and for the collection of which their several frontiers were crowded and guarded by petty revenue officers. Even the necessary articles of life, as corn, wine, butcher's meat, &c. paid different duties on passing the boundaries of provinces, or entering their great cities: these were called *péages*, or transit duties. The duchies of Milan and Parma are in like manner divided into small districts, in all of which the different productions of the country are taxed, and in each upon a different system.

Nothing can more effectually obstruct the operations of industry, than taxes upon the sale of different merchandizes: of this we have a notable example in the tax called *Alcavala* in Spain. This is a tax upon the sale of every species of commodities. It was originally ten per cent. was raised by Philip III. and IV. to four-

fourteen per cent, and at present is six per cent, *ad valorem*, repeated every time the article is sold. Its collection necessarily requires a crowd of revenue officers, who attend the goods from province to province, town to town, nay, shop to shop. Its effects, as may well be supposed, have been ruinous in the extreme: the declension of the Spanish commerce, manufactures, and industry, is well known; and Ustaritz, their most sensible writer on these subjects, deems this tax the chief cause of their ruin.

Taxes on the different materials employed in the operations of industry are necessarily impediments of considerable efficacy. The tax of three shillings and three-pence per ton, levied in England on coal carried coastwise, deserves to be ranked among the injurious taxes of this nature. Fuel is an article of absolute necessity, in almost all manufactures; we accordingly find them in England flourishing, in general, in coal counties, and languishing where this necessary article is deficient and dear. To levy a tax on its carriage to such districts is, therefore, an absurd assessment, which increases the natural disadvantages they labour under, and which represses the industry,

industry, and obstructs the employment of their inhabitants.

All taxes levied on the materials of manufactures will unavoidably check and obstruct them; few examples, indeed, of this nature are observable. In some instances, even in England, where the nature of commerce is supposed to be best understood, taxes are imposed on the importation of the *primum* of some manufactures, with a view of encouraging their production at home, and serving the landed interest: their good effects, however, in this way, would appear doubtful; their injurious tendency in the other, certain.

But if levying taxes on the importation of the *primum* of manufactures be, in general, at best a doubtful, and probably an injurious piece of policy; how much more destructive must be the loading with duties the produce or the manufactures of a country when exported!

In former ages, when the principles of commerce were little understood, heavy duties on exportation, or its absolute prohibition, were deemed the most efficacious means of securing

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plenty at home: thus, in Scotland, not only the different articles of rude produce, but various articles of manufactures, as linen, candles, hides, shoes, &c. were prohibited from being exported. At present, however, the general policy of European nations is diametrically opposite; and the customary practice is, to load with duties the importation of different manufactured articles from foreign states, and to permit the exportation of such from home duty free. Some writers have questioned the justice and policy of loading with heavy duties, or absolutely prohibiting, the importation of foreign manufactures: their opinions on this point we shall hereafter have an opportunity of considering; but whatever doubts may be entertained respecting the impropriety of taxing importation, it will be universally agreed, that taxing or prohibiting the exportation, especially of manufactures, must check the commerce, curb the industry, and obstruct the employment of a people.

The next source of obstruction and impediment to industry and employment which we shall notice, is the conferring particular privileges and immunities, on certain descriptions of the people. The two principal instances of this nature which

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occur,

occur, and the only ones we shall consider, are Corporations, and Trading Companies. And, first, of

Corporations. Industry, as has been already remarked, first reared its head during the rude and barbarous dissipation and idleness of the middle ages, in enfranchised cities. The particular privileges conferred upon, or assumed by them, of enacting laws and regulations for their own government, was the immediate source of this improvement; inasmuch as they were thereby enabled to protect and defend the liberties and property of their inhabitants. Actuated, however, by the spirit of monopoly, and, as may be well supposed, consulting more their own immediate interest than those of society at large, their subsequent regulations have usually tended to impede the *general* industry and employment of the people. As the necessity for such institutions no longer exists, if any injuries result from their continuance, they certainly should be abolished, or their injurious tendency at least corrected. They fostered industry, no doubt, after its birth; but if the nurses of infancy become a nuisance to the adult, let them be curbed or discarded. Corporations seem to impede the

industry and employment of a people principally in two ways; first, by forming exclusive companies, the freedom of which is necessary to the exercising its particular trade; and, secondly, by exacting taxes, tolls and impositions for the support of a useless and indolent magistracy.

The freedom of the working companies of different corporations is generally obtained by serving an apprenticeship of a certain number of years to some individual of the company. Those who have not served such apprenticeship are by the laws of the corporation prevented from exercising any trade within its jurisdiction. The effects of such prohibition necessarily are, not only by diminishing the number of, and consequently the competition among the workmen, to raise the price upon the consumer, but to prevent any individuals, who may be otherwise perfectly well qualified, from procuring employment and subsistence for themselves, or affording employment and subsistence to others. To diminish as much as possible the number of workmen, and consequently the competition among them, corporate companies have not been always satisfied with enforcing a long apprenticeship, they sometimes limit and regulate the number

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ber of apprentices which a master is to take. In Sheffield a cutler can have but one apprentice at a time, and in Norfolk no weaver can have more than two. Nay, in Germany, there frequently is a determined number of tradesmen allowed to every corporation, which cannot be exceeded. What are called the *Maitrises* in France are much the same as the companies of towns corporate in England, only still more injurious in their effects; as in England manufacturers may carry on many branches of workmanship out of the limits of the corporation, without having been made free of particular companies; whereas, in France, all tradesmen are obliged to obtain the freedom of their proper maitrise, before they can set up any where. I know not whether this ill-judged regulation has been done away by the late revolution, but should suppose it has, with many other absurdities, been abolished.

The obvious consequence of all restrictions, similar to those of companies corporate, is the obstruction of the free circulation of labour. An individual who, from natural ingenuity or application, is qualified to exert any particular branch of industry, cannot fix himself in a city, from

situation, perhaps, and other circumstances, the most advantageous for his business; because he has not served a tedious, and in many instances, an unnecessary apprenticeship, to an interested inhabitant. All obstruction to the free circulation of labour is an impediment to the employment of the people; and we accordingly find, that commerce and manufactures have in general, deserted those cities where such regulations are adhered to; and if any of such corporations still retain a considerable share of business, it is principally, perhaps, to be attributed to some advantages of situation, conveniency of materials, or other encouraging circumstances. In England, the principal manufacturing towns are exempt from corporation restrictions: as instances, we may cite Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and a considerable portion of London, viz. Westminster, Southwark, and the suburbs. In the Austrian Netherlands, many of their cities are in a state of depopulation from adherence to such regulations; while the industrious have assembled in villages exempt from these restrictions, which begin to equal the former populousness of the decayed bodies corporate.

In addition to corporation restrictions, which
prevail

prevail in Great Britain as well as in the other parts of Europe, the free circulation of labour receives an additional obstruction in England, from what are called the *Laws of Settlement*, which, though not connected with the corporation systems, may be slightly noticed. As such laws are peculiar to England, a particular history of their origin and nature need not here be entered into; let a general sketch suffice. Every parish in England, it is well known, is obliged to provide for the maintenance of its own poor: to render its burden as light as possible, each parish became anxious to prevent the inhabitants of any other parishes from settling in it, who might possibly be reduced to the necessity of throwing themselves on its charity. To prevent such migrations, and to confine as much as possible the different poor to the parishes in which they were born, the Laws of Settlement were devised; the general spirit and tendency of which, however they have been modified from time to time, is to confine the indigent labourer to the district in which he first chanced to enter on the labours and difficulties of this world, and to prevent him from forming a settlement elsewhere, however advantageous and inviting. Hence, principally, arises the very great irre-

gularity in the price of labour, observable in many parts of England. The labourer is confined to his native soil ; and though employment should be overstocked in one parish, and ill-supplied in another, the free circulation of labour being thus obstructed, the inequality continues, to the general detriment both of the employer and the employed.

The impolicy of such regulations, and of the corporation restrictions already noticed, and the impediments they occasion to the employment of the people, are, I hope, sufficiently obvious: their injustice is equally palpable. Ingenuity or corporal labour are the only sources from which the indigent can derive subsistence and support. To forbid the exertion of either, on any account, or in any situation, is as unjustifiable as impolitic. It is depriving man of the source of sustenance, bestowed him by the Almighty. It is wresting from him the most necessary, the most sacred, and, one would imagine, the most inalienable of all rights, the right to labour.

Corporations are injurious to the industry and employment of the people, by levying taxes, tolls, and impositions on the several articles they
bring

bring to market. The freedom of internal commerce, as has already been observed, and as the most respectable authorities have acknowledged, is the principal source of the wealth, prosperity, and employment of the inhabitants of any empire : but how considerably must it be obstructed by the levying of impositions, which are generally farmed out to the avaricious, indigent, or rapacious? Such impositions, when levied on the necessary articles of life, are productive of an additional evil; by raising their value, they distress the manufacturer, increase the price of his productions, diminish, of consequence, their consumption, and of course obstruct the employment of those engaged in them. But for what purposes were such taxes levied? not in general for any public improvement, advantage, or convenience; for each of these a separate tax is levied. Their amount is usually squandered in dissipation and luxury, the example of which is pernicious; or in supporting a number of drones, under the denomination of Aldermen and Magistrates, indolent from affluence, and bloated from excess. The government of any city needs no such expedients: let its inhabitants elect a number of officers proportioned to its population and extent; let them assign them adequate, but

but not exorbitant salaries; and let the amount of such salaries be levied, not from non-residents who supply them with necessaries; not by a mode which oppresses the feeble, obstructs the commerce of the merchant, and impedes the employment of the people; but from those to whom the protection is afforded, and by means unproductive of injury, injustice, and distress. Manchester gives an example of the inutility of corporation government: its inhabitants, amounting to above fifty thousand, are governed by a magistrate of no greater eminence than a constable, assisted by inferior officers; and many other manufacturing towns in England are governed in a similar way.

Exclusive Mercantile Companies, as Smith very justly observes, “ resemble in every respect the
 “ corporations of trades, so common in the cities
 “ and towns of all the countries of Europe;
 “ and are a sort of enlarged monopolies of the
 “ same kind. As no inhabitant of a town can
 “ exercise an incorporated trade, without first
 “ obtaining his freedom in the corporation; so,
 “ in most cases, no subject of the state can law-
 “ fully carry on any branch of foreign trade,
 “ for which a regulated company is established
 “ without

“ without first becoming a member of that company.” As such companies are the same in their nature with companies corporate, their views, motives, and conduct, are generally similar : their profits arise from the losses of the public ; they contrive to export a small quantity of native manufactures, in order to sell them at an extravagant price ; and they import a similar supply of foreign produce, on which, competition being excluded, they obtain an exorbitant profit at home. Their charter effectually excludes such competition, and the public are necessitated to acquiesce in the extortion. Beside, how unjust is it to exclude nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine out of ten thousand industrious subjects from different branches of trade, in which they might find useful occupation themselves, and afford it to others ? This, however, is the effect of the East India charter in England ; nay, its effects have, by the collusion of our own government, been extended to this unfortunate country. By the Turkey company charter, thousands are shut out from any intercourse with the whole Turkish empire ; and the conduct of its members has been such, that besides preventing others from reaping any benefit from the Levant trade, their own commerce has sunk and declined,

clined, while that of France with the same countries has risen in proportion with the declension of its rival. Of this Marseilles affords convincing proofs.

Unfortunate, indeed, has been the general fate of all exclusive mercantile monopolies: such has been the short-sightedness, avarice, and mismanagement of their members, that by far the greater number have at length failed; and those that remain are more indebted for the prolongation of their existence to the assistance and interference of their respective governments than to their own prudence and resources: witness the East India company of England. The Abbé Morellet has given a list of fifty-five exclusive companies for foreign trade, which have been formed in different parts of Europe since the year 1600; every one of which have failed, notwithstanding their particular privileges. The only pretext, therefore, which can be offered for their formation and continuance, viz. that they are necessary for conducting a trade with many countries, from the inability of individuals to effect it, falls to the ground. On the contrary, they have always injured and ruined the commerce committed to them: they have checked the industry and employ-

ployment of many individuals, who would otherwise have successfully engaged in it; and we may, therefore, safely conclude, in the words of Smith, "that all exclusive companies are nuisances in every respect."

Such appear to be the principal of the impediments to the industry and employment of the people, which the policy of the European governments has occasioned: many, no doubt, exist, which we have not particularly noticed; but they may be easily referred to one or other of the classes above specified, and their injurious tendency explained on some of the general principles we have attempted to establish. Many others, also, of considerable efficacy, are necessarily deferred to the third section of the present part of our subject, which we shall now proceed to consider, and inquire what is the system of industry most beneficial to be pursued, and most productive of employment to the people at large.

SECT

S E C T I O N III.

On the System of Industry most beneficial to be pursued, and most productive of Employment to the People at large.

Two general systems of industry and employment—

I. The system of commerce—Its two great engines—Restraints on importation of two kinds—1st, The first species do not increase the general industry or employment of a people—The industry and employment must be proportioned to the capital of a people—These regulations of the commercial system diminish the general capital—Proofs of this—Such regulations may prematurely establish manufactures; but this, instead of increasing, will diminish the general capital—Two cases in which such regulations may be useful—1. The regulations of the commercial system under consideration should be altered with caution—2. The second head of the regulations of the commercial system, more absurd even than the first—They diminish the general capital of a people—Preference of markets no sound reason for these regulations—The whole doctrine on which they
are

are founded absurd—Difference between balance of trade and balance of produce and consumption—Unnecessary to consider the other regulations of the commercial system—The inventors and supporters of the commercial system—II. System of agriculture—Its outlines—Three classes of the people—1. Proprietors—2. Farmers are the only productive class—3. Artificers are unproductive, and why—Are maintained by the others—Yet still are useful—To discourage merchants or mercantile states impolitic—Freedom of trade the most advantageous mode of raising up manufacturers, and why—Effects of a contrary plan—Capital error of this system—The most just which has been published—Considerable alterations in favour of the agricultural system not to be expected—Still these discussions are useful—Further arguments in favour of agriculture—It increases the general capital more than any other business, and therefore general employment—It employs more numbers, directly, and indirectly—It secures employment more effectually—Proofs of this, from an historic view of the Netherlands, and of Lombardy and Tuscany—Eulogium of Raynal on agriculture—The encouragement of manufactures promotes agriculture, and should therefore claim peculiar attention.—Conclusion.

SECT.

S E C T I O N III.

IT need scarcely be repeated, that the system of industry most advantageous to be pursued by any country must vary with its natural products and situation, its progress in civilization, its political defects and advantages, and a thousand minutiae not necessary to be here enumerated. In considering this, however, as well as the preceding subjects, some general principles may be established, which will assist our inquiries when directed to any particular people, and which will apply to most nations, however different in soil, products, political, or other circumstances.

In endeavouring to form some conclusion upon this comprehensive subject, the Essayist is in a great degree assisted by having his views necessarily confined to the consideration of the two grand systems of industry and employment which have been pursued by man, viz. *The System of Commerce* and *The System of Agriculture*. These two systems, which, as we shall endeavour to shew, should in general go hand-in-hand,

in-hand, have been so far separated and set in opposition to each other, that the former has pretty generally, and, in modern European states, has almost universally been assisted, protected, and supported, at the expence of the latter. The nature of these two different systems of industry, and the relative importance of each, as far as respects the employment of the people, we shall now proceed to explain; and, in doing so, shall have frequent recourse to that invaluable political performance, the Inquiry of Dr. Smith. He has explained, in so clear and just a manner, every circumstance relating to these two systems of industry, that I shall frequently take the liberty of copying his words, distinguishing them only by inverted commas : his illustration of the subject it would be presumption to attempt improving on ; his sentiments cannot be better conveyed than in his own simple, yet forcible style.

I. The *System of Commerce*, which includes manufactures, and which prevails universally in Europe, affects to enrich the inhabitants of any nation, as well as to afford them employment, by procuring what is called a favourable balance of trade ; or “ by exporting to a greater value
“ than its import: the great object, therefore, of

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“ this system of political œconomy is to diminish as much as possible the importation of foreign goods for home consumption, and to increase as much as possible the exportation of the produce of domestic industry.—Its two great engines for effecting these purposes are, *restraints* upon importation, and *encouragement* to exportation.”—The former, as more connected with the present subject, we shall chiefly consider here; and the discussion of its merits will almost equally well apply to the other general expedients of the system of commerce.—

“ Restraints upon importation are of two kinds ; 1. Restraints upon the importation of such foreign goods for home consumption as could be produced at home, from whatever country they are imported ; and, 2. Restraints upon the importation of goods of almost all kinds, from those particular countries with which the balance of trade is supposed to be disadvantageous.” That the wealth of nations does not consist in an imaginary balance of trade in its favour, but in the real value of the annual produce of the land and labour of its inhabitants, has by Dr. Smith been so fully shewn, that any particular recapitulation of his arguments would be here unnecessary : the restrictions of the

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commercial system, if intended for this purpose, are, therefore, nugatory. Let us see if they tend to increase the general industry, or to promote the general employment of the people.

Restraining by high duties, or totally preventing by prohibitions, the importation of such articles as are produced or manufactured by the natives of particular countries, necessarily secures to them, in a greater or less degree, the monopoly of the home market for such articles. That such a monopoly encourages the particular species of employment, in favour of which it is established, cannot admit of a doubt : it is very doubtful, however, whether it increases the *general* industry of a nation, or promotes the *general* employment of its natives. The general industry and employment of a people must always be proportioned to the amount of the capital they are possessed of ; as the number of journeymen kept by a master manufacturer must be determined by the amount of the capital he employs in his particular branch of business. The capital of a people is the aggregate of the capital of all the individuals which compose a nation. A variety of restrictions, regulations, and monopolies, may direct a greater part of

this capital towards some particular branches of business, than they would naturally have attracted if things were allowed to find their natural level : but if such regulations and monopolies cannot increase the *general* capital of a nation, they cannot increase the *general* industry, or promote the *general* employment of a people. That the general capital of a people cannot be increased by measures of this nature, but, on the contrary, must be diminished, is evident from very obvious considerations.

Every individual employed in business naturally endeavours to discover the most beneficial mode of employing, and consequently the most effectual mode of increasing, his capital. If no particular branches of industry were encouraged more than others, those would naturally be preferred which afforded the speediest means of increasing the particular capital of individuals, and consequently the general capital of a people. It is self-interest which would direct man in this as in almost every other instance ; but the study of this interest would in the present, as in many other instances, necessarily lead him to the most effectual means of promoting the interests of society at large. The individual must necessarily

be supposed better able to judge what particular branch of industry is best calculated for his capital and situation, and most likely to augment that capital, than any statesman or law-giver whatever. It would be deemed extremely iniquitous in any branch of any legislature to interfere directly in a man's private concerns, and assume the power of obliging him to employ his capital in that business only which the legislature deemed most advantageous for him. By the establishment of monopolies, and the other mercantile restrictions, however, a similar power has been in some measure indirectly carried into execution. To give the monopoly of the home market to the produce of any art or manufacture, is to direct the people to employ more capital in that way than they otherwise would have done; and must be a regulation, either useless or pernicious: if the produce of domestic employment can be brought to market as cheap as that of foreign, it is certainly an useless regulation: the advantages of the goods being exposed to sale, free of the charges of freight, commission, and insurance, and the disadvantages of employing capital at a distance, to which foreign goods must be liable, would appear sufficient encouragement to domestic produce. If,

on the contrary, foreign produce can be brought to market cheaper than home, the regulation is pernicious, as necessarily diminishing the general capital of a country. A master of a family never attempts to manufacture at home what it will cost him more to manufacture than to purchase. The taylor will not make the shoes his family may wear, but buys them from the shoemaker ; the shoemaker will not make his own clothes, but employs the taylor : every individual, in short, finds it tend more to his advantage, and to the increase of his capital, to buy the different articles he has occasion for from the cheapest market, than to manufacture them at home, at an ultimately dearer rate. " What is prudence in the conduct of a private family can scarcely be folly in a great kingdom." If foreigners can supply us with different articles at a cheaper rate than our own manufacturers, it is better to purchase at a cheap rate from the former than at an exorbitant price from the latter. The general industry of a country would not suffer, as may be supposed, by such a procedure. The capital employed in these branches of industry would be left to find out some other direction, more beneficial to society at large ; more beneficial, because the *general* capital of society, and,

and, consequently, the *general* fund for employment, must be diminished by their being obliged to purchase different articles at a dearer rate than they could otherwise obtain them, in proportion to the excess of price of the domestic, over the foreign object of purchase.

By regulations of this nature, indeed, particular manufactures may be established in a country sooner than they would if every branch of employment was left to find its natural level; and, in time, their products may be afforded as cheap, or perhaps cheaper, than foreign goods of the same kind. But it by no means follows, that the general capital and fund of employment would be increased by such a measure. On the contrary, that fund, and consequently the general industry and employment of the inhabitants of any country, must be diminished by the increased price they are necessitated to pay for articles which could be obtained cheaper elsewhere. Nor is it by any means certain, that the advantages which may ultimately arise from thus forcing a manufacture, will counterbalance the certain loss such an establishment of them must at first occasion. Its immediate effect must be, to diminish the revenue and capital of a country;

try; and any cause of such diminution is not likely to increase that capital faster than it would naturally have augmented of its own accord. Though for want of such regulations society should never acquire the proposed manufacture, it would not on that account necessarily be the poorer in any one period of its duration. In every period of its duration its whole capital and industry might still have been employed, though upon different objects, in the manner that was most advantageous at the time. In every period its revenue might have been the greatest its capital could afford, and both might have been augmented with the greatest possible rapidity.

“ The natural advantages which one country
 “ has over another, in producing particular commodities are sometimes so great, that it is acknowledged by all the world to be in vain to struggle with them. By means of glasses, hot beds, and hot walls, very good grapes can be raised in Scotland, and very good wine too can be made of them, at about thirty times the expence, for which at least equally good can be brought from foreign countries. Would it be a reasonable law to prohibit the importation of foreign wines, merely to encourage
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“ the making of Claret and Burgundy in Scot-
 “ land? But if there would be a manifest ab-
 “ surdity in turning towards any employment
 “ thirty times more of the capital and indus-
 “ try of the country than would be necessary to
 “ purchase from foreign countries an equal quan-
 “ tity of the commodities wanted, there must
 “ be an absurdity, though not altogether so glar-
 “ ing, yet exactly of the same kind, in turning
 “ towards any such employment a thirtieth, or
 “ even a three hundredth part more, of either.
 “ Whether the advantages which one country
 “ has over another be natural or acquired, is,
 “ in this respect, of no consequence. As long as
 “ the one country has those advantages, and the
 “ other wants them, it will always be more
 “ advantageous for the latter rather to buy of
 “ the former, than to make. It is an acquired
 “ advantage only which one artificer has over his
 “ neighbour who exercises another trade, and
 “ yet they both find it more advantageous to
 “ buy of one another than to make what does
 “ not belong to their respective trades.”

There are two cases, according to Smith, in
 which it may be advantageous to impose taxes
 and restrictions upon foreign, in favour of do-
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mestic, industry. First, when the encouragement of some particular sort of employment is necessary for the defence of a country; as that of maritime employment is to Great Britain. The act of navigation, therefore, as it gives a monopoly of the carrying trade of Great Britain to her own sailors, is, in her, a politic measure; as it necessarily increases their number, and consequently the naval strength of the nation. Secondly, It may be advantageous to tax any branch of foreign, in favour of a similar species of domestic industry, when a tax is imposed at home upon the latter. This would be only reducing each to a state of equality, and would not direct a greater share of domestic stock and industry to that particular employment than it would naturally have attracted. When foreign nations also prohibit the importation of some of our goods into their dominions, it may be a matter of deliberation, whether we should not retaliate by loading theirs with similar imposts. Revenge naturally dictates such procedure, and we find that nations have generally obeyed its dictates. If such retaliation will occasion a repeal of the obnoxious duties and impositions in the foreign country, it will be adviseable to adopt and persist in it; if not, it is surely impolitic

politic to redress an injury done to one set of manufacturers in a country, by injuring all the other members of the community, which is necessarily the consequence of prohibiting the foreign produce of a similar, and, perhaps, of many other manufactures, and obliging the people to purchase them at a dearer rate from domestic or other workmen.

When by the long establishment of restrictions upon importation, and by the monopoly of the home market, a considerable number of hands are employed in any particular manufacture, it would require considerable caution and circumspection to deprive them of such protection and monopoly, by throwing open the home market to similar foreign produce. It would be unjust to deprive numbers of the source of employment which they have made the study of their lives, in the confidence that that market for their labours was fully secured to them. Cheaper foreign articles might, in consequence, be poured in so fast, as to deprive thousands all at once of employment and support.

The disorder, however, occasioned by adopting such a measure, would probably be less considerable

considerable than at first view might be imagined. When any particular branch of manufacture has been established for a series of years in a country, the acquired advantages of the manufacturer in that branch become so considerable, that they alone would, in most instances, secure to him the home market against any foreign competition. The silk manufacture is, perhaps, the principal exception to this observation in England; and this is chiefly occasioned by the disadvantages they labour under in importing the primum of the manufacture. Another circumstance which would considerably diminish the disorder and distress apprehended from such a measure, is, that the greater number of the hands engaged in the manufactures so left unprotected, would, in case of their declension, find employment in some other line. At the close of a war thousands of sailors and soldiers are disbanded, and deprived, we may say, of their trade; yet, in a short time, they spread over the country, and find employment for themselves in a variety of other occupations.

The next head of the restraints, adopted by the commercial system, are those upon the importation of almost all kind of articles, from those

those countries with whom the balance of trade is supposed to be disadvantageous. These are even more absurd than those we have been considering, and tend equally to diminish the employment of the inhabitants of any nation by whom they are adopted. That any diminution of the capital of a country necessarily diminishes the employment of its inhabitants, we have already shewn. That the restrictions, now under consideration, prevent that capital from accumulating to so considerable an amount, as it naturally would, were the commerce of a country allowed to take a spontaneous direction, may be briefly demonstrated.

Although it were certain, in the first place, that what has been called the balance of trade between any two countries, supposing their commerce free from all restrictions, was in favour of one of them, it by no means follows that the trade with such a nation would be unfavourable to the other; or that the *general* balance of its commerce would be thereby turned more against itself than if the usual restrictions on importation were adopted. On the contrary, " if the
 " wines of France, for example, are better and
 " cheaper than those of Portugal, or its linens
 " than

“ than those of Germany, it would be more
 “ advantageous for Great Britain to purchase
 “ both the wine and the foreign linen which it
 “ has occasion for, from France, than of Por-
 “ tugal and Germany: though the value of
 “ the annual importations from France would be
 “ thereby greatly augmented,” and the amount
 of the apparent balance of trade in its favour
 increased, “ the value of the *whole* annual im-
 “ portations” into Great Britain “ would be
 “ diminished, in proportion as the French goods
 “ of the same quality were cheaper than those
 “ of the other two countries;” and of conse-
 quence the general capital of Great Britain, the
 general fund for the employment of all its inha-
 bitants, would be increased in proportion to the
 sum saved by purchasing certain articles cheap in
 one country rather than dear in another.

It has been adopted, indeed, as a maxim, that
 because some countries give others a preference
 of their home market for different articles, a
 similar favour and encouragement should be af-
 forded them in return. The Portuguese were
 better customers for the manufactures of Great
 Britain than the French; and therefore the dear
 and bad wines of the former country were to

be preferred to the cheap and good liquors of the latter. As one nation gives us *their* custom, we, it is asserted, should give them *ours*. "The sneaking arts of underling tradesmen are thus erected into political maxims for the conduct of a great empire: for it is the most underling tradesmen only who make it a rule chiefly to employ their own customers. A great trader purchases his goods always where they are cheapest and best, without regard to any little interest of this kind."

But, in the second place, "nothing can be more absurd than this whole doctrine of the balance of trade, upon which not only these restraints, but almost all the other regulations of commerce, are founded. When two places trade with each other, this doctrine supposes that if the balance be even, neither of them either loses or gains; but if it leans in any degree to one side, that one of them loses, and the other gains, in proportion to its declension from the just equilibrium. Both suppositions are false: for by advantage or gain is to be understood, not the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, but that of the exchangeable value of the annual produce of
" the

“ the land and labour of the country, or the
 “ increase of the annual revenue of its inhabit-
 “ ants. If the balance be even, and if the
 “ trade between the two places consist altoge-
 “ ther in the exchange of their native commo-
 “ dities, they will, upon most occasions, not only
 “ both gain, but they will gain equally : each
 “ will in this case afford a market for a part
 “ of the surplus produce of the other; each
 “ will replace a capital which had been em-
 “ ployed in raising and preparing for the market
 “ this part of the surplus produce of the other,
 “ and which had been distributed among, and
 “ given revenue, maintenance,” and employ-
 ment to, a certain number of its inhabitants.
 Some part of the inhabitants of each, therefore,
 will derive their revenue, maintenance, and em-
 ployment, from the other.

There is another balance, indeed, very differ-
 ent from the balance of trade; and which, ac-
 cording as it happens to be favourable or unfav-
 ourable, necessarily occasions the prosperity or
 decay of every nation. This is the balance of
 the annual produce and consumption. If the ex-
 changeable value of the annual produce exceeds
 that of the annual consumption, the capital of
 the

the society must annually increase in proportion to this excess. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, on the contrary, fall short of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually decay in proportion to this deficiency. The expence of the society in this case exceeds its revenue, and necessarily encroaches upon its capital: its capital, therefore, must necessarily decay, and with it the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its industry. This balance of produce and consumption is entirely different from what is called the balance of trade. The balance of produce and consumption may be constantly in favour of a nation, when what is called the balance of trade is against it: a nation may export to a greater value than it imports, for half a century, perhaps, together; the gold and silver which comes into it, during all this time, may be all immediately sent out of it; its circulating coin may gradually decay; different sorts of paper money being substituted in its place; and even the debts, too, which it contracts in the different nations with whom it deals, may be gradually increasing; and yet its real wealth, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its lands and labour, "its capital, and the fund for the employment of its people," may, during the

same period, have been increasing in a much greater proportion. The state of North America, and of its trade with the rest of the world, " may serve as a proof that this is by no means an impossible supposition."

It were needless here particularly to insist upon the other expedients which have been had recourse to, for assisting and supporting the commercial system; such as the establishment of colonies, the monopolizing their trade, and the giving them the monopoly of the home market for their produce; the establishment of bounties for the encouragement of infant manufactures, and the various other subordinate devices of this complicated system of employment. Those who wish for more particular information on such subjects, we have only again to refer to doctor Smith's inestimable treatise on the Wealth of Nations. He has fully shewn, that all these regulations and restrictions usually diminish, in a greater or less degree, the general wealth and capital of a nation; their effects, however, in diminishing the general employment of a people, will ever be proportionate to their efficacy in diminishing that capital, which is the principal source and fund for labour and employment.

It is no difficult matter to determine, who were the inventors, and who are the principal advocates and supporters of a system, which augments the riches and assists the industry of a *few* inhabitants of a nation, at the expence of the *many*, and to the depression and obstruction of the general industry and employment of the majority. They were and are the merchants and manufacturers, who have been too successful in persuading every country in Europe, that the wealth of every nation, and the employment of its natives, depended principally upon aggrandizing *them*, at the expence of every other inhabitant of the state. To carry their views into execution, to elevate their branch of industry above the level of every other, the man of landed property, the cultivator of the soil, the working labourer in almost every department of business, the great majority, in short, of every European nation, have submitted to monopolies, restrictions, and prohibitions without number, whose ultimate effect has been to raise the price of the natural and artificial necessities of life beyond what they would otherwise have attained, and consequently to diminish the general clear revenue and capital of every people, the only true fund for their labour, and permanent source of their employment.

II. *The System of Agriculture*, which we shall now briefly explain, is one which has existed rather in theory than practice: it is the offspring of the speculation of a few learned and ingenious Frenchmen, and has never, in its full extent, been carried into execution by any nation. The commerce and manufactures of France having, by the regulations of her famous minister Colbert, obtained a more than ordinary preference and pre-eminence over its agriculture, the discouragement and depression this latter branch of industry experienced was such as to be felt in a greater or less degree by every inhabitant of the country. To discover the causes of the consequent distress, different inquiries were set on foot; and one of the principal was discovered to be the preference given by the institutions of Colbert to the manufacturing above the agricultural interests. This gave rise to the publications of M. Quesnai, the profound author of the *Agricultural System*: he has been followed by many ingenious disciples, who have been distinguished as a sect by the title of *Oeconomists*; and who ever express the greatest admiration and reverence for their master. The general outlines of the system are briefly these:

“ The

“ The different orders of the people, who have ever been supposed to contribute in any respect towards the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, they divide into three classes. The first is the class of the proprietors of land. The second is the class of the cultivators, of farmers and country labourers, whom they honour with the peculiar appellation of *the productive class*. The third is the class of artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, whom they endeavour to degrade by the humiliating appellation of the *barren or unproductive class*.

The class of proprietors contributes to the annual produce, by the expence which they may occasionally lay out upon the improvement of the land, upon the buildings, drains, enclosures, and other ameliorations, which they may either make or maintain upon it; and by means of which the cultivators are enabled with the same capital to raise a greater produce, and, consequently, to pay a greater rent. Such expences are called ground expences, *dépenses foncières*.

The cultivators or farmers contribute to the annual produce by what are, in this system, called the original and annual expences, *dépenses primi-*

tives annuelles ; which they lay out upon the cultivation of the land. Those two sorts of expences are two capitals, which the farmer employs in cultivation ; and unless they are regularly restored to him, together with a reasonable profit, he cannot carry on his employment upon a level with other employments ; but, from a regard to his own interest, must desert it as soon as possible, and seek some other. The rent, which properly belongs to the landlord, is no more than the neat produce which remains after paying in the completest manner all the expences which must be necessarily laid out, in order to raise the gross or the whole produce. It is because the labour of the cultivators, over and above paying completely all these necessary expences, affords a neat produce of this kind, the rent, that this class of people are, in this system, peculiarly distinguished by the honourable appellation of the productive class.

Artificers and manufacturers, whose industry, in the common apprehensions of men, increases so much the value of the rude produce of land, are in this system represented as a set of people altogether barren and unproductive : their labour, it is said, replaces only the stock which
employs

employs them, together with its ordinary profits. The profits of manufacturing stock are not, like the rent of land, a neat produce, which remains after completely repaying the whole of the expence which must be laid out in order to obtain them. The stock of the farmer yields him a profit, as well as that of the master manufacturer; and it yields a rent likewise to another person, which that of the master manufacturer does not. Mercantile stock is, for the same reasons, equally barren and unproductive with manufacturing stock. Artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, can augment the revenue and wealth of their society by parsimony only, or, as it is expressed in this system, by *privation*. Farmers and country labourers, on the contrary, may enjoy completely the whole profits of their stock, the whole funds of their subsistence, and yet augment at the same time the revenue and wealth of society.

The unproductive class, that of merchants, artificers, and manufacturers, is maintained and employed altogether at the expence of the two other classes, that of the proprietors and that of cultivators. They furnish it both with the materials of its work, and with the fund of its

subsistence ; with the corn and cattle which it consumes, while it is employed about that work. The proprietors and cultivators, finally, pay both the wages of all the workmen of the unproductive class, and the profits of all their employers. Those workmen and their employers are properly the servants of the proprietors and cultivators ; they are only servants which work without doors, as menial servants work within.

The unproductive class is not only useful, but greatly useful to the other two classes ; by means of the industry of merchants, artificers and manufacturers, the proprietors and cultivators can purchase both the foreign goods, and the manufactured produce of their own country, which they have occasion for, with the produce of a much smaller quantity of their own labour than what they would be obliged to employ if they were to attempt, in an awkward and unskilful manner, either to import the one, or to make the other for their own use. It can never be the interest of the proprietors and cultivators to restrain or to discourage in any respect the industry of merchants, artificers, or manufacturers. The merchants, artificers and manufacturers of those mercantile states, which, like
Holland

Holland and Hamburgh, consist chiefly of this unproductive class, are in the same manner maintained and employed altogether at the expence of the proprietors and cultivators of land.

It can never be the interest of the landed nations who support them to discourage or distress the industry of such mercantile states, by imposing high duties upon their trade, or upon the commodities which they furnish. Such duties, by rendering those commodities dearer, could serve only to sink the real value of the surplus produce of their own land, with which, or, what comes to the same thing, with the price of which, those commodities are purchased. The most effectual expedient, on the contrary, for raising the value of that surplus produce, for encouraging the increase, and consequently the cultivation and improvement of their own land, would be to allow the most perfect freedom to the trade of all such mercantile nations.

This perfect freedom of trade would even be the most effectual expedient for supplying them, in due time, with all the artificers, manufacturers, and merchants, whom they wanted at home; and for filling up, in the properest and
most

most advantageous manner, that very important void which they left there.

The continual increase of the surplus produce of their land would, in due time, create a greater capital than what could be employed with the ordinary rate of profit in the improvement and cultivation of land; and the surplus part of it would naturally turn itself to the employment of artificers and manufacturers at home. But those artificers and manufacturers, finding at home both the materials of their work and the fund of their subsistence, might immediately, even with much less art and skill, be able to work as cheap as the like artificers and manufacturers of such mercantile states, who had *both* to bring from a great distance. These latter would, therefore, immediately be rivalled in the market of those landed nations, and soon after underfold, and jostled out of it altogether. The cheapness of the manufactures of those landed nations, in consequence of the gradual improvements of art and skill, would, in due time, extend their sale beyond the home market, and carry them to many foreign markets, from which they would in the same manner gradually jostle out many of the manufactures of such mercantile nations.

According

According to this liberal and generous system, therefore, the most advantageous method in which a landed nation can raise up artificers, manufacturers, and merchants of its own, is, to grant the most perfect freedom of trade to the artificers, manufacturers and merchants of all other nations. It thereby raises the value of the surplus produce of its own land, of which the continual increase gradually establishes a fund, which in due time necessarily raises up all the artificers, merchants and manufacturers it has occasion for.

When a landed nation, on the contrary, oppresses, either by high duties or by prohibitions, the trade of foreign nations, it necessarily hurts its own interest in two different ways. First, by raising the price of all foreign goods, and of all sorts of manufactures, it necessarily sinks the real value of the surplus produce of its own land, with which, or, what comes to the same thing, with the price of which, it purchases those foreign goods and manufactures. Secondly, by giving a sort of monopoly of the home market to its own merchants, artificers, and manufacturers, it raises the rate of mercantile and manufacturing profit in proportion to that of agricultural profit, and consequently either draws
from

from agriculture a part of the capital which had before been employed in it, or hinders from going to it a part of what would otherwise have been so employed.

Though by this oppressive policy a landed nation *should* even be able to raise up artificers, manufacturers and merchants of its own, somewhat sooner than it could do by the freedom of trade ; (a matter, however, which is not a little doubtful) yet it would raise them up, if one may say so, prematurely, and before it was perfectly ripe for them. By raising up too hastily one species of industry, it would depress another more valuable species of industry ; it would depress productive labour, by encouraging too hastily that labour which is altogether barren and unproductive."

Such are the mere outlines of this very ingenious system ; the capital error of which appears to lie in its representing the class of artificers, manufacturers and merchants, as altogether barren and unproductive. For many reasons, however, this representation is unjust, which may be more particularly examined in doctor Smith's performance ; but, with these imper-

imperfections, he hesitates not to pronounce,
 “ that this system is the nearest approximation
 “ to the truth that has yet been published upon
 “ the subject of political œconomy; and that
 “ it is upon that account well worth the con-
 “ sideration of every man, who wishes to exa-
 “ mine with attention the principles of that very
 “ important science.”

The above comparative statement of the two grand systems of industry has been principally abbreviated from doctor Smith, to whose work we must again refer for more particular information respecting them. Considerable insight into each will also be acquired by consulting a late work, intitled, “ New and Old Principles of Trade compared; or, a Treatise on the Principles of Commerce between Nations *.” The French writers on the subject may also be had recourse to with advantage.

The arguments advanced would seem sufficient to prove the injustice and impolicy of the restrictions by which the commercial system has been extended and supported, at the expence,

* Published by Johnson, London, 1789, 8vo.

and to the prejudice, of the agricultural. To expect, indeed, that the governors of mankind will be prevailed upon by any arguments to remove these restrictions and oppressions, and to restore the different sources of employment to their natural level and equality, would be an expectation truly vain and chimerical. The prejudices established by old and familiar modes of reasoning are against it. The numbers engaged in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits, and whose profits principally depend on the monopolies which have been established, are too considerable to be injured with impunity, as they certainly would be by any considerable innovation. The revenue and very existence of some states has been so interwoven with these establishments, that they could scarcely be altered without confusion, distress, and bankruptcy. The capital which has been accumulated by mercantile engagements, not finding any other equally beneficial direction, has, for some time, in several countries, been daily laid out in agricultural improvements; and thus, what should have been the first step in the progress of nations, is reserved for the last. But, as the proverb says, "it is better late than never." Suddenly to shut the sources of that capital, which is thus finding

finding its way to the country, may be ruinous both to the agricultural and manufacturing interests. Innumerable reasons, in short, occur, why such an alteration of system cannot be expected to take place in the states of Europe as at present constituted ; but flourishing and stable will be the nations who first disengage themselves from such thralldom. Secure, extensive, and universally beneficial will be the employment of their people. America must strike the contemplation of any writer engaged in the consideration of these subjects. She has successfully thrown off the trammels of colonial restrictions; let her take heed to form no new ones for herself; let her know no such term as a *favoured nation*; let her ports be free to all people, as the winds which waft their vessels to her coasts; let her be deaf to the clamours of her merchants and manufacturers, should they solicit protection, and restraints. Manufactures will undoubtedly arise among her sons; but let them be the offspring of the natural progress to opulence, not the forced and hot-bed productions of monopoly.

But although the situation of Europe is at present such that we are not to expect the revolution

volution in mercantile regulations alluded to; discussions of this nature will have their value, if they check the legislatures of different countries in granting any new monopolies; if they persuade them cautiously to relax those which already subsist; and, above all, if they turn their attention to that branch of politics which has been too long, and too considerably, neglected and undervalued. Nay, they have, in some degree, produced that effect; the importance of agriculture is better known, and more universally acknowledged; and nations begin to think that it is as conducive to their interest to cultivate their long-neglected acres at home, as to roam after waste and uncultivated tracts abroad.

The considerations which have been advanced, explain, it is hoped, sufficiently, the *relative* importance of agriculture to a nation. To evince that it is the principal and most secure source of employment to the people, some further arguments may be adduced.

As the abundance of capital is the principal source of employment, and as agriculture tends more than any other branch of business to increase the *general* capital of a country, it must
in

in the same proportion more effectually promote the employment of a people. To prove that it does possess this tendency, the following considerations may be advanced, in addition to those already offered.

“ No equal capital puts into motion a greater
“ quantity of *productive* labour than that of the
“ farmer. Not only his labouring servants, but
“ his labouring cattle are productive labourers.
“ In agriculture, too, nature labours along with
“ man; and though her labour costs no expence,
“ its produce has its value, as well as that of
“ the most expensive workmen. The most im-
“ portant operations of agriculture seem intend-
“ ed not so much to increase, though they do
“ that too, as to direct the fertility of nature,
“ towards the production of plants most profit-
“ able to man. A field overgrown with briars
“ and brambles may frequently produce as great
“ a quantity of vegetables as the best culti-
“ vated vineyard or corn field. Planting and
“ tillage frequently regulate, more than they
“ animate, the active fertility of nature; and
“ after all their labour, a great part of the work
“ always remains to be done by her. The la-
“ bourers and labouring cattle, therefore, ent-
“ ployed

" ployed in agriculture, not only occasion, like
 " the workmen in manufactures, the reproduc-
 " tion of a value equal to their own consump-
 " tion, or to the capital which employs them,
 " together with its own profits, but of a much
 " greater value. Over and above the capital
 " of the farmer, and all its profits, they regu-
 " larly occasion the reproduction of the rent of
 " the landlord. This rent may be considered
 " as the produce of those powers of nature,
 " the use of which the landlord lends to the
 " farmer. It is greater or smaller according to
 " the supposed extent of these powers, or ac-
 " cording, in other words, to the supposed fer-
 " tility of the land. It is the work of nature
 " which remains, after deducting and compen-
 " sating every thing which can be regarded as
 " the work of man. It is seldom less than a
 " fourth, and frequently more than a third of
 " the whole produce. No equal quantity of
 " productive labour employed in manufactures
 " can ever occasion so great a reproduction. In
 " them, nature does nothing, man does all;
 " and the reproduction must always be in pro-
 " portion to the strength of the agents that
 " occasion it. The capital employed in agricul-
 " ture, therefore, not only puts into motion a
 " greater

" greater quantity of productive labour, than
 " any equal capital employed in manufactures;
 " but in proportion, too, to the quantity of pro-
 " ductive labour it employs, it adds a much
 " greater value to the annual produce of the
 " land and labour of the country, to the real
 " wealth and revenue of its inhabitants. Of all
 " the ways in which a capital can be employed,
 " it is *by far the most advantageous* to the so-
 " ciety."

The numbers employed in agriculture, in such large countries as France and England, have by some writers been computed at half, by others at a third, by none less than a fifth, of the whole inhabitants of the country. Sir James Stewart calculates that the proportion is in England as twelve to nine. However calculations may differ, those occupied in the culture of the earth, at any rate, considerably exceed in number those employed in any other species of manual labour, and, most probably, those engaged in every other species of employment put together. This very circumstance, of its affording ~~immediate~~ occupation to so considerable a multitude, should entitle agriculture to the most marked encouragement, and is an additional reason why it is to be

considered the greatest and most important source of labour and employment.

Beside the multitudes to whom the culture of the earth affords immediate employment, it indirectly gives occupation to many more, in a greater degree, than any other branch of labour whatever; for, inasmuch as it is the most friendly of all to long life and population, it necessarily occasions the greatest demand for the artificial necessities of existence, and therefore indirectly employs more artists and manufacturers than any other.

Agriculture is not only the great source of employment to a people, but, when carried to perfection, secures that employment more effectually than any other occupation whatever. Manufactures and commerce are not necessarily confined to any country, however vigorous and flourishing they may be at any one period. Taxes, oppression, civil dissensions, foreign war, and a thousand other causes, may check, discourage, or totally annihilate them, and deprive its natives of those sources of employment which once engaged multitudes. To this ample testimony is borne by those once great commercial states, which

which at present exist only in name, and further proofs will, in time, be afforded by those at present oppressed and declining. When capital, on the contrary, is laid out in highly cultivating the earth, it not only affords extensive employment to the present, but secures it to future generations. Of both these circumstances, one country in Europe affords a demonstration. I mean the Austrian Netherlands; a brief review of the ancient and present state of which will prove the justice of the observation just now made, and the general utility of agriculture to a state. The facts I shall take from the history of the country, and the remarks of the most judicious travellers.

The Netherlands in general, and the province of Flanders in particular, though now cultivated and improved to the utmost, afforded at one period a very different prospect. The vast forest of Ardennes, of which some small but ornamental remains still continue, overspread and rendered useless almost its whole extent. The Counts of Flanders were, on this account, stiled the Foresters of Flanders. The country was, beside, covered with marshes and stagnant waters. The Scheld, unrestrained by the hand of

man, overflowed its level banks, deluged the neighbouring plains, and rendered them at once both desolate and unhealthy. Agriculture has effected the wonderful change now observable: introduced first by the monks, and adopted afterwards by the peasants, it made rapid advances to perfection, in proportion as the latter were relieved from the feudal oppression, and secured from the rapacity of their lords. The manufactures afterwards established in the cities of Flanders afforded additional encouragement to the cultivation of the country. They doubly promoted its progress to perfection: the husbandman, secure of a ready market for his productions, in the rising consumption of the crowded towns, was invited to increase his exertions; and, by augmenting his capital, was enabled more effectually to execute the necessary improvements in his farm. The adventurous merchant, not finding sufficient scope for the employment of his wealth in commerce, or allured by the natural attractions of the country, exerted the same spirit in cultivation he did in trade, and, by securing his riches in the soil, rendered their benefits permanent to future generations. The princes of Flanders afforded peculiar encouragement to these exertions, and judiciously bestowed

bestowed premiums on those who excelled in the most useful of all occupations. The effects of so fortunate a combination of circumstances soon became visible. As early as the twelfth century, the forests of Flanders were extirpated; canals were formed, which at once drained the country, and opened a communication between its most distant districts. The Scheld, restrained to its proper bed by the necessary precautions, no longer desolated the country it should enrich; the soil was laid open to the beneficial influence of the atmosphere; and Flanders became the most fertile and cultivated portion of Europe.

A variety of well-known causes, not here necessary to be enumerated, have deprived those countries of the commerce which they once possessed; their agriculture, however, feels no decay, and still affords employment to the numerous inhabitants. The manufactures of Louvain have disappeared; the trade of Antwerp is extinct; and many of its other cities have been depopulated; but the fields of Flanders retain their fertility; their population is augmented almost beyond parallel, and they afford an irrefragable proof, that agriculture is the most solid

basis of national prosperity. Even the ravages of war are not able to deprive agriculture of the firm possession of the soil which it once obtains. In the sixteenth century, a period the most unprosperous to these provinces, when all their other arts declined or disappeared, the cultivation of the earth retained its native vigour: during the almost continued tranquillity of the present, it has progressively advanced to still higher improvement. Their husbandry (if not injured by late commotions) is now unequalled in any part of Europe; their population surpassed by none; their inhabitants feel no want of employment; and their comfortable habitations, wholesome food, and the decent competence they enjoy, express, in strongest terms, to the delighted traveller, that each shares the plenty which pervades his fields.

The present state of Lombardy and Tuscany would lead us to similar conclusions. Though the misfortunes of Italy, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, considerably injured the commerce and manufactures of their cities, the surrounding country is still one of the most cultivated and populous in Europe.

If

If any thing be wanting, to prove that agriculture is the great and secure source of prosperity and employment to the people, and that which every government should principally encourage, let the opinion of the ingenious Raynal be heard : if any arguments he adduces have been anticipated, his eloquence will at least relieve, after the dry discussion of such political topics. “ Sans la culture des terres, tout commerce est précaire ; parcequ’il manque des premiers fonds, qui sont les productions de la nature. Les nations qui ne sont que maritimes, ou commerçantes, ont bien les fruits du commerce ; mais l’arbre en appartient aux peuples agricoles. L’agriculture est donc la première, et la véritable richesse d’un état. Tout en effet depend et résulte de la culture des terres. Elle fait la force intérieure des états. Elle y attire les richesses du dehors. Toute puissance qui vient d’ailleurs que de la terre, est artificielle et précaire, soit dans le physique, soit dans le moral. L’industrie et le commerce qui ne s’exercent pas en premier lieu sur l’agriculture d’un pays, sont au pouvoir des nations étrangères, qui peuvent ou les disputer par l’émulation, ou les
 “ ôter

“ ôter par l'envie ; soit en établissant la même
 “ industrie chez elles, soit en supprimant l'ex-
 “ portation de leurs matieres en nature, ou
 “ l'importation de ces matieres en œuvre. Mais
 “ un état bien defriché, bien cultivé, produit
 “ les hommes par les fruits de la terre, et les
 “ richesses par les hommes. Ce ne sont pas les
 “ dents du dragon qu'il sème pour enfanter les
 “ soldats, qui se détruisent ; c'est le lait de Junon,
 “ qui peuple le ciel d'une multitude innombra-
 “ ble d'étoiles.

“ Le gouvernement doit donc sa protection aux
 “ campagnes plutôt qu'aux villes. Les unes
 “ sont des mères et des nourrices toujours fé-
 “ condes, les autres ne sont que des filles souvent
 “ ingrates et steriles. Les villes ne peuvent
 “ guères subsister que du superflu de la popula-
 “ tion, et de la reproduction de la campagne.
 “ Les places meme, et les ports de commerce,
 “ qui par leurs vaisseaux semblent tenir au monde
 “ entier, qui répandent plus de richesses qu'elles
 “ n'en possèdent, n'attirent cependant tous les
 “ trésors qu'elles versent, qu'avec les produc-
 “ tions des campagnes qui les environnent.
 “ C'est donc à la racine qu'il faut arroser l'ar-
 “ bre,

“ bre. Les villes ne seront florissantes, que par
 “ la fécondité des champs. L'intérêt du gouverne-
 “ ment est donc de favoriser les cultivateurs,
 “ avant toutes les classes oiseuses de la société.
 “ Les cultivateurs méritent la préférence du gou-
 “ vernement, même sur les manufactures, et les
 “ arts, soit mécaniques, soit libéraux. Ho-
 “ norer et protéger les arts de luxe, sans songer
 “ aux campagnes, source de l'industrie qui les
 “ a créés, et les soutient, c'est oublier l'ordre
 “ des rapports de la nature, et de la société. Fa-
 “ voriser les arts, et négliger l'agriculture, c'est
 “ ôter les pierres des fondemens d'une pyramide,
 “ pour élever le sommet.”

Let it not be imagined, from what has been
 advanced, that it is our opinion manufactures
 should be discouraged. On the contrary, it is
 evident that a number of manufacturers afford
 many and considerable encouragements to agri-
 culture, and useful employment to many of the
 people. They raise a near and ready market for
 the surplus produce of the husbandman's labour.
 They stimulate him to industry and employment,
 by presenting various articles of convenience or
 ornament to his purchase ; and the capital ac-
 quired

quired by them is often ultimately laid out in the cultivation of the earth. "Toute nation agricole," says Raynal, "doit avoir des arts pour employer ses matieres, et doit augmenter ses productions, pour entretenir ses artisans. Si elle ne connoissoit que les travaux de la terre, son industrie seroit bornée dans ses causes, ses moyens, et ses effets. Avec peu de desirs et de besoins, elle seroit peu d'efforts, elle emploieroit moins de bras, et travailleroit moins de tems. Elle ne sauroit accroître ni perfectionner la culture. Si cette nation avoit à proportion plus d'arts que de matiere, elle tomberoit à la merci des étrangers, qui mineroient ses manufactures, en faisant baisser le prix de son luxe, et monter le prix de sa subsistance. Mais quand un peuple agricole réunit l'industrie à la propriété, la culture des productions à l'art de les employer, il a dans lui-même toutes les facultés de son existence, et de sa conservation, tous les germes de sa grandeur et de sa prospérité. C'est à ce peuple qu'il est donné, de pouvoir tout ce qu'il veut, et de vouloir tout ce qu'il peut."

Manu.

Manufactures should, on these and many other accounts, ever claim peculiar attention from the legislature, and should meet with every assistance consistent with the interests of those members of the community not engaged in them, and who always form the majority of a great nation.

The positions we wish to establish are, that of all the different branches of labour, agriculture is that which affords the most productive, secure, and extensive employment to the people. That commerce and manufactures should be considered as subservient to its interests, and that they should not be encouraged at the expence and to the detriment of those engaged in its pursuits. Let us conclude, therefore, in the words of Doctor Campbell, that in these islands, as well as in every other country of similar nature and extent, " agriculture and
 " manufactures are twins, and must always wax
 " or wane with each other. It ought there-
 " fore be the object both of the landed and
 " trading interests, to encourage agriculture,
 " taken in the most extensive sense, as the
 " mother and support of arts, as the great and
 " perma-

" permanent principle of our domestic policy,
 " on which our attention must be invariably
 " fixed, if we mean to preserve that felicity,
 " to which the beneficence of Providence has
 " given us an incontestible, and, if we are not
 " wanting to ourselves, an indefeasible title."

PART

P A R T II.

*Objects to be considered in this division of the Essay
—Conclusions must be still rather general than
particular, and why—A political survey of the
kingdom recommended—Division of the subject.*

IN this division of our Essay, our views are to be concentrated on the situation and productions of one nation; the general character, habits, and propensities, of its inhabitants; their political situation, both with respect to internal government, and external connection; their progress in agriculture, arts, and manufactures; and the possibility and means of improving, encouraging, and extending them. These, and many other circumstances, are immediately or remotely connected with the subject; and must be either briefly discussed, or intimately considered, if we

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be desirous to discover the best means of providing employment for the inhabitants in general of this our island. In forming opinions upon these points, we shall receive no inconsiderable assistance from those generally applicable observations and maxims, advanced in the foregoing division; and it is hoped that the preceding discussion of them will not only afford the expected aid in the ensuing portion of our labours, but that the *general* conclusions deduced in the antecedent pages will receive further confirmation from those of a more particular nature, which we shall hereafter endeavour to establish.

Notwithstanding, however, our views must at present be naturally more confined, our observations more appropriate, than heretofore; yet, any conclusions we can form with respect to the best mode of providing employment for the people of our island, must be still considered rather as general than particular. The diversity of habits, character, and productions, even in the same nation, are such, that they must, as has before been noticed, occasion a diversity in its different districts, as to the best mode of providing employment for their several inhabitants. The discovery of the nature of such diversities, however,
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and of the best mode of accommodating themselves to, or taking advantage of their respective situations, may in this, as in several other instances, be in a great measure trusted to the individuals more immediately concerned. Their local knowledge naturally renders them the best judges in these cases; self-interest will necessarily prompt them to pursue the best modes of bettering their circumstances, increasing their capital, and consequently of promoting the employment of the people; and, in the promotion of private interest, inevitably improves that of society at large.

A more intimate acquaintance, indeed, with the advantages and disadvantages of the different divisions of the island, and of the sources of employment which should consequently be preferred in each, would undoubtedly be promoted by a more accurate local examination of them, than has yet been carried into execution. A political survey of this nature affords ample room for a very useful and interesting performance; and its encouragement would confer additional praise on the Academy which has proposed the present subject of discussion. The Author of this Essay, however, is perfectly inadequate to the

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task,

task, nor is he singular, most probably, in such deficiency. A survey of this nature would be best conducted by persons properly qualified, resident in each county; and consequently either already best informed as to their circumstances and productions, or best calculated, from situation and connection, to acquire such information. Our observations, therefore, will be rather applicable to the kingdom at large, than to its separate divisions; and if such general conclusions as we shall attempt to establish be founded in truth, the particular management of the diversity of interests alluded to may be trusted to the speculations of individuals, and the progress of that capital and knowledge which are daily increasing throughout the kingdom.

Any facts, observations, and reasonings, either remotely applicable to, or immediately connected with, the investigation of the best means of providing employment for the people of Ireland, appear easily referable to the following heads, into which we shall accordingly distribute the subject.

We shall,

I. Take

I. Take a brief review of the situation, general productions, and climate of our island.

II. We shall consider the general character, habits, and propensities of the people which inhabit it. And,

III. We shall endeavour to determine the best mode of providing them with employment, under the separate heads of, 1. AGRICULTURE. 2. MANUFACTURE. And, 3. COMMERCE.

S E C T I O N I.

Of the Situation, general Productions, and
Climate of Ireland.

Situation of Ireland—Productions—Fertility and diversity of soil—Climate—Natural advantages on the whole considerable.

THE discussion of the subject of the present section shall be brief and concise. What our several advantages are, is in general sufficiently understood; the discovery of the best means of employing, and availing ourselves of them, is more the subject and aim of the present Essay, than a particular detail and minute enumeration of each.

The situation of Ireland is peculiarly favourable to the promotion of employment, and encouragement of industry. Placed, as it were, between the New and Old World, possessing an
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easy communication with the ports of the former, and contiguous to the shores of the richest districts of the latter, it would seem destined by nature to enjoy a considerable portion of that commerce and intercourse, between both, which has been the source of riches, employment and industry, to so many nations. The local circumstances of an insular state, commodious havens, and numerous rivers, navigable, or easily rendered such, combine with the advantages of its relative situation, to afford its inhabitants every encouragement and assistance in commercial pursuits, which in these respects can be expected from nature.

The utility of its natural productions, and fertility of its soil, are equally pregnant with favourable opportunities for the exertion of industry, and the employment of the natives of the island. Of the first, a stronger proof cannot be given than that her natural productions are almost perfectly similar to those of Great Britain; a country in which both industry and employment flourish as considerably as in any ancient or modern nation of Europe. And as to natural fertility, sufficient testimony is borne to the advantages of our island in this respect

by Mr. Young. "There are people," says he, "who will smile when they hear that, in proportion to the size of the two countries, Ireland is more cultivated than England; having much less waste land of all sorts.—Natural fertility, acre for acre, over the two kingdoms, is certainly in favour of Ireland." With respect to soil, Ireland possesses another great advantage, in enjoying a considerable diversity thereof: by far the greatest portion of her surface is calculated for every operation and production of tillage; vast tracts, however, of rocky and mountainous ground are best adapted for breeding and rearing black cattle, which are expeditiously fattened on the moist and low situated plains, which could not be with equal advantage submitted to the culture of the husbandman. On many other extensive districts, the soil is so light and thin, the rock so near the surface, and smaller stones so abundant, that any attempt at reducing them to tillage must prove fruitless. On such, however, especially if the rock be limestone, numerous herds of sheep are not only reared, but fattened. I have seen large sheep, fat enough for the table, on ground where the thinly scattered herbage merely sprouted through the crevices of the rock, and where the

the traveller would be apt to imagine their very subsistence must be difficult and precarious.

As another great advantage in our soil, may be mentioned the very great abundance of calcareous manures, as sea-sand, marle, but more particularly limestone, which, from the vicinity of either coal, culm, or turf, may be burned at a comparatively trifling expence.

With respect to climate, Ireland, though possessed of the principal advantages naturally attendant on her situation in the temperate Zone, is subject to one inconvenience, from her vicinity to the great Atlantic. I mean a considerable degree of moisture in the atmosphere. The westerly winds, which so generally prevail, waft hither the humidity and vapours, elevated from so great an expanse of ocean: broken by our mountains, or descending from the more unknown causes which occasion the immediate fall of rain, the clouds frequently deluge the country, and prove injurious, especially in harvest time, to the different productions of the earth, particularly to every species of corn. This has been proved by registries of the weather, kept in different parts of the island, and compared

with others in different countries. This circumstance appears, however, not to have been examined with a sufficient degree of attention; the author of this Essay is at present engaged in an attempt to ascertain the difference more precisely than has yet been done. In estimating the degree of moisture in a climate, we are to take into account not only the quantity of rain which falls, but the less perceptible humidity of the atmosphere. The hygrometer would probably shew, that this is considerable in Ireland; the experiment, however, remains to be tried; the supposition hitherto rests upon vague conjecture, or inconclusive facts.

The humidity of the climate of Ireland, which is certainly favourable to the growth of herbage, has been adduced as an argument why its inhabitants should turn their attention principally to pasturage, in preference to tillage; the injuries, however, which it occasions to the culture of corn, are more inconsiderable than is generally imagined: little is, I believe, upon the whole, lost by what is called *lodging* from rain; and as to saving, the efficacy of a few dry days is all that is necessary, which are rarely wanting, except, perhaps, in such seasons as the last, when
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rain prevailed so universally all over Europe. The late advances of the Irish, in the culture of corn, are sufficient to shew, that fears on this head are in a great measure groundless: and from another consideration, the unusual proportion of rain, which falls in Ireland in the earlier months, will be found not only useful, but in some measure necessary, to its agriculture: the circumstance alluded to is the general natural dryness and rockiness of the soil, which has been well noticed by Mr. Young, and which requires a greater proportion of moisture, than the deeper, heavier, and more humid clays of England. "The circumstance," says he, "which strikes me, as the greatest singularity of Ireland, is the rockiness of the soil. "Stone is so general, that I have reason to believe the whole island is one vast rock of different strata and kinds, rising out of the sea—in general it appears on the surface in every part of the kingdom; the flattest and most fertile parts, as Limerick, Tipperary, and Meath, have it at no great depth, almost as much as the more barren ones."

On the whole we may conclude, that the inhabitants of our island have little or nothing
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with which they can reproach nature ; that her situation, foil, productions, and climate, are such as afford the amplest scope for the exertion and employment of the industrious ; and that if her sons are deficient in either, the causes are to be sought for, not in natural disadvantages, which do not exist, but in some political defects, which should be examined, developed, and corrected.

S E C T.

SECTION II.

Of the general Character, Habits, and Propensities of the People of Ireland.

Knowledge of the character of a people a necessary preliminary—Human nature ultimately the same, and character formed by political causes only—Supposition of natural inferiority more prevalent than is generally imagined—Climate has little effect in the formation of character—Plenty of food supposed to render the Irish indolent—This idea refuted—Conclusion to be formed on this subject—Principal objects to be held in view in this inquiry—Irish divided into three classes—Middle rank, who composed of—Their general characteristics impede national industry and employment, and how—Bucks, who composed of, and how conducted—Folly of the propensity to educate children to gentlemanly professions—Character of the inferior class of Irish—Their idleness—Thievery—Cunning and lying—Flattery—Drunkenness—Riotousness—Propensity to combinations, and breach of the laws—All tend to obstruct industry and employment—Character daily improv-

improving—Political causes of the character of the middle rank—Character of their original ancestors—Power of such character in forming that of posterity—Restraints on industrious pursuits another cause—Characteristics of the lower class may be traced to political causes, particularly oppression and poverty—Historical view of the oppression of the lower Irish, by their own chiefs—Instances of this—The English aggravated their miseries—Proofs—Some little improvement in the reign of James I. but of short duration—Lower Irish of even the present day exposed to oppression—Proofs of this—Poverty of the lower Irish—To these causes is the present character of the lower Irish to be traced—Effects of oppression on the character, in producing idleness, flattery, cunning and lying, and a lawless spirit—Union of oppression and poverty produces thieving, ebriety, and combinations—Amendment of character to be effected by removing the causes we have noticed, and by a proper system of education.

S E C T.

S E C T I O N II.

IN determining the best means of promoting the industry and employment of a people, or of introducing any political improvement whatever among them, the discussion and investigation of their real general character appears an absolutely necessary preliminary. Such an inquiry will not only assist in discovering the most successful means of effecting the desired improvements, but as the general character of a people seems to be almost entirely regulated by moral and political causes, it will lead to the true source of those obstructions to any endeavours of this nature, which must naturally be encountered.

That the human race is ultimately the same in all situations; that there exists no innate or natural incapability in any division of our species; and that the character of man is formed and modified by moral and political causes almost entirely, are positions which are very generally admitted, and, if this were the place for such discussions, might be here easily demonstrated.

monstrated. Interest, ignorance, and a superficial philosophy, indeed, have severally countenanced an opposite opinion. The remorseless Spaniard, on invading America, with confidence pronounced its natives were a race of beings distinct from, and inferior to, Europeans: a philosopher has been found, to give the semblance of rational support to the idea*, and a Bishop has been seen pleading the same cause, in solemn council, before his sovereign, and attempting to prove, that the miserable savages on whom his countrymen had laid the talons of cruelty and rapacity, were incapable of civilization, and *naturally* destined for servitude. Similar are the assertions of the planter respecting the negro who groans beneath his lash; nor has the defence of such assertions been unattempted by the pen of vain and self-sufficient presumption, or of still more culpable venality.

If we descend to the more familiar relations of comparative riches and knowledge, or difference of situation; it will be found, on close inspection, that this idea of natural inferiority

* M. Pau, Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains.

is not completely abandoned. Who has not heard it asserted by the haughty favourite of fortune, or the distinguished by hereditary rank, that the lower class were *naturally* stupid, vicious, and incorrigible? Who has not heard it advanced as a maxim, that the mere Irish were a peculiar people, *naturally* averse to industry, and incapable of civilization? I have more than once known the supercilious and superficial possessor of extensive estates adduce, in proof of this idea, his own conduct and experience. He, forsooth, bestowed on some the luxury of glass windows, which were speedily demolished and never renewed; he erected for others of his tenantry clean and comfortable habitations, which were soon converted into receptacles of dirt. But, to account for the first circumstance, he need only have recollected, that his tenant had not, perhaps, wherewithal to repair those accidents to which glass, especially in such habitations, is liable; and that, in the second, a sudden change of circumstances could never have altered or eradicated general and inveterate *habits*, engendered in a state of barbarity, increased by oppression, and persisted in from poverty. If the descendants of his remote and barbarous ancestor, whether a Saxon Baron, or a Milesian Chief,

Chief, had been continually exposed to the operation of similar causes, their improvement would have been as trifling, and his taste for cleanliness and the artificial necessities of life as faint, as that of the vassal he affects to accuse of natural inferiority*.

The difference of climate has by many writers been supposed considerably to influence the human mind, and consequently to alter the capabilities and propensities of man, in various regions of the globe. I am very strongly inclined to imagine, that this doctrine has been extended considerably beyond its just limits; and that the power of climate in this respect is indeed trifling.

* The dirt of the English, at present a very clean nation, was at a late period remarkable. Erasmus complains of their extreme slovenliness and uncleanness, and attributes to it the frequent plagues with which they were infested: he visited England in the reign of Henry VIII. "Their floors," says he, "are commonly strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested a collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nauseous." Epist. 432.

So late as Elizabeth's reign those said straw floors were very common, even in the palace.

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Any discussion of the subject, however, would be at present inapplicable; the situation of our island, in the temperate region of the temperate Zone, where, even according to the theory alluded to, the mental faculties are most perfect, precludes any supposition of the qualities of its natives being from *climate* inferior to those of other nations, or in nature peculiar to themselves.

But another national cause of barbarity, indolence, and defect of civilization, has been discovered. The Irish, living principally upon a root, which, cultivated with little trouble, affords a considerable abundance of food, can therefore never become industrious, refined, or civilized. This idea appears to have been first started by Sir William Temple. "In Ireland," says he, "by the largeness and plenty of food, and scarcity of people, all things necessary to life are so cheap, that an industrious man by two days labour may gain enough to feed him the rest of the week; which I take to be a very plain ground for the laziness attributed to the people." *Observations on the United Provinces*, p. 120. A similar sentiment has been adopted by Hume, and insisted on by Sir John Dalrymple and others. Were the Irish in a state

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of perfect barbarity, and acquainted with no other incentive to labour than the mere appetite for food, this sentiment, as has been observed in the first part, might have some weight; but, in the period of civilization they have for some time arrived at, the abundance of food, which necessarily results from the culture of the useful plant in question, the potatoe, instead of retarding, must promote the increase of capital, the consequent industry and employment, and the ultimate civilization of the people. This will be sufficiently evident from the general considerations advanced in the division of this Essay already referred to; as an additional proof, take the opinion of Doctor Smith: “ If in any
 “ country the common and favourite vegetable
 “ food of the people should be drawn from a
 “ plant, of which the most common land, with
 “ the same culture, produced a much greater
 “ quantity than the most fertile does of corn; the
 “ rent of the landlord would necessarily be much
 “ greater; and should potatoes become in any
 “ part of Europe, like rice in some rice countries, the common and favourite vegetable
 “ food of the people, the same quantity of cultivated land would maintain a much greater
 “ number of people; and the labourers being
 “ gene-

“ generally fed with potatoes, a greater surplus
 “ would remain, after replacing all the stock,
 “ and maintaining all the labour employed in
 “ cultivation.” Mr. Young’s opinion of the
 question is as follows: “ Is it, or is it not, a
 “ matter of consequence, for the great body of
 “ the people of a country, to subsist upon that
 “ species of food which is produced in the
 “ greatest quantity by the smallest space of land?
 “ One need only *state*, in order to *answer*, the
 “ question. It certainly is an object of the
 “ highest consequence.”

Leaving, therefore, all presumptions or interested assertions, all mean and illiberal prejudices, respecting the natural incapacity, or inherent and incorrigible vices, of nations or of ranks, to the further refutation of those writers who have already successfully undertaken it, or to that resulting from their own intrinsic and apparent obscurity; let the philanthropic mind view with pity, not condemnation, any deficiencies, vices or miseries, which distress a people. Let them be traced to their true source and origin, political errors and mistakes: let these be particularly investigated, and if possible corrected or removed. So shall the capabilities of improvement which

all ranks and descriptions of men possess be gradually expanded and unfolded ; their industry, employment, and happiness, feel proportionate increase ; and the favours of fortune, and advantages of superior information, prompt those who are possessed of such blessings to alleviate the inconveniencies of nations and of ranks, by prudent and applicable assistance, not to aggravate their distresses by supercilious reproach and unmerited calumny.

In investigating the character of the Irish nation, our principal aim shall be to discover what are the predominant defects, which may check and obstruct the employment of its people. On examination it will be found, that the principal deformities which pollute it are precisely of this nature. In tracing the portrait, though we shall avoid caricature on the one hand, we shall equally disdain flattery on the other. The delineation of the natural lines shall be our principal aim. National partiality might prompt us to soften the harsher features, and throw into relief the more favourable ; but such conduct would be that of the patient, who conceals from his physician the symptoms of the disease for which his assistance is required. If deficiencies
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in national character arise, as we have asserted, from political errors, the more generally they are known, the more probable becomes the chance of their removal. We shall, therefore, sketch them, as far as in us lies, with a bold, yet faithful hand. We shall investigate when possible the causes from which they have originated; and notice the most efficacious and applicable remedies which can be employed for their correction or removal.

The people of Ireland may be divided into three classes; the high, the middle, and the commonalty. The first there is no necessity of noticing; they differ little from their neighbours in England, and their vices or virtues can but slightly affect the employment of the other inferior ranks of community.

By the middle rank of Irishmen, I do not understand a wealthy and respectable yeomanry. So valuable a division of citizens we are yet, alas! unacquainted with. Neither do I, in this class, include the mercantile part of the community, although they properly belong thereto.—They do not, it is true, possess the spirit of industry, and application to business, which those of the same description do in England and Hol-

land; but they are not so addicted to dissipation and extravagance as the middle rank of country gentlemen. They hold, it may be said, an intermediate rank with respect to industry; possessing neither the scrupulously attentive spirit of business and industry, which distinguishes the English merchant, nor the unthinking spirit of extravagance which ruins the Irish gentleman. The class I speak of is principally composed of men of small estates, who generally live beyond their income; and those landholders known by the name of *middle-men*, who take large districts of the country from those possessed of extensive estates, and either cover them with black cattle and sheep, or re-let them at extravagant rents to wretched and indigent cottagers. The injuries this description of people occasion to the agriculture of the kingdom we shall hereafter have occasion to explain; their character, so far as respects the industry and employment of the people, is here only to be examined. Let me premise, that I shall delineate in this, as in every other instance, merely a *general* one; many exceptions to it exist, and I am happy to see such are daily increasing. Still, however, it will be found the predominant character, and one which must considerably obstruct the general

ral employment and industry of any society where-
in it prevails.

The general characteristics of the class of society I speak of, are dissipation, idleness, and vanity. Every man with a few acres of land, and a moderate revenue, is dignified, as a matter of course, with the title of *Esquire*; and, be his family ever so numerous, the incumbrances on his little patrimony ever so considerable, he must support a pack of hounds, entertain with claret, or, if not able, with whiskey; keep a chaise and livery servants, and ape, in short, his superiors in every respect. Meanwhile his debts are increasing, his creditors growing clamorous, and every industrious occupation, which might relieve his distresses, neglected, as utterly beneath the dignity of a *gentleman*.

The numerous instances of this nature which occur cannot but possess a very serious, extensive, and powerful influence in the obstruction and depression of national industry and employment. The bad debts of men of business are more numerous in Ireland than can well be imagined: such must considerably injure and obstruct the industrious. Those sums which should be

saved for the younger children of the family, and laid out in the establishment of some industrious occupation, that would enable them to afford employment to thousands of their countrymen, are either squandered in idle extravagance, or, if collected from the fortune which the hopeful heir apparent may obtain in matrimony, are employed by those on whom they are bestowed, in pursuing the laudable example they have been accustomed to from infancy. But the influence of such example is still more extensive: its ruinous contagion extends to the most inferior ranks. The labouring hind quits his spade, to pursue his landlord's pack of beagles on foot, and at night intoxicates himself with whiskey, while his master enjoys a similar pleasure with liquors more refined and palatable.

To the same source are we to trace those nuisances to every rank of society, denominated *bucks* and *buckeens*. Such, in general, are either the eldest sons of the gentlemen of small property we have described; or the younger children of those possessed of larger, who have received their scanty pittance, of which the augmentation by industrious means is never once attempted, and the final dissipation, one would
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imagine, deemed impossible. To stand behind a counter, superintend a farm, or calculate in a compting-house, would be beneath the dignity of such exalted beings, and disgrace the memory of their *gentlemen* ancestors. But would not such pursuits be finally more useful to their country, and more grateful to their own feelings, than a mode of life which dissipates the funds that should be employed in industry, corrupts the manners of the people, ruins the health and annihilates the fortune of the individual, and, in general, finally leads them to subsist as mendicants on the charity of some more opulent relation? 'Tis disgusting to see such beings gaming at a hazard table, bustling at a horse race, quarrelling over their claret, or hallooing after a fox, arrayed, perhaps, in an equipage they have neither inclination nor ability to pay for. Let us turn from the picture—the only satisfaction attendant on its examination is, that the species are daily diminishing. May they speedily be extinct.

To the same general aversion to industry, and tendency to dissipation, and to a considerable share of family vanity, are we to ascribe the silly, but more excusable, propensity of *gentlemen*,
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to educate their children in *gentlemanly* professions. Hence arise the daily increasing numbers of curates with scanty salaries, or none, attorneys preying on the public, ensigns without the means of rising higher, physicians without patients, and lawyers without briefs. More advantageous would it be, as well to the individuals immediately concerned, as to the general employment of the people, if they had been bred to industrious occupations, wherein success, with prudence, is almost certain; and wherein the capital expended in their education would be laid out with greater advantage to themselves, and the inevitable increase of employment to the people.

The character of the inferior class of the community comes next to be considered; and, as more intimately connected with the question respecting the best means of providing employment for the people, demands attentive examination. I shall, as in the preceding instance, chiefly consider those traits which have obvious reference to the subject before us.

Two leading and naturally allied features in the character of the lower Irish, as connected with

with this subject, are idleness and inquisitiveness, especially when hired and employed to perform the work of others. The prevalence of these principles must be obvious to any person who has in the remotest degree been conversant in country affairs, or who ever, as a traveller, has cast an observant glance on the conduct of the labouring peasantry. The moment an overseer quits them they inevitably drop their work, take snuff, and fall into chat as to the news of the day: no traveller can pass them without diverting their attention from the business in hand, and giving rise to numerous surmises as to his person, errand, and destination. The most trivial occurrence, especially in the sporting line, will hurry them, unless restrained, from their occupations. Even the sedentary manufacturer will, on such occasions, quit his employment. Nothing is more common than to see a weaver in the North start from his loom on hearing a pack of hounds, and pursue them through a long and fatiguing chase.

A tendency to pilfering and theft is very predominant among the lower classes of the Irish. To any person acquainted with them this requires no proof; and it is highly detrimental
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to those possessed of capital, who wish to enter into the extensive practice of any branch of industry among them, but especially of agriculture. I have known twenty sheaves of corn reckoned into each stack at night, in a very extensive field, and one out of each was missing next morning. Of this tendency many similar instances might be given. Let one suffice.

Connected with this vice is the prevalence of a low cunning, and of lying, which is very observable among them; and, as their accompaniment, may be mentioned a fawning flattery. The blunt honesty, the bold independence of the English yeoman, are wanting; and in their place too generally substituted the petty dishonesty of the vassal, the servility and artifice of the slave.

Drunkennes is an evil of considerable magnitude, in the catalogue of national vices. It is one to which the lower Irish are peculiarly addicted, and that from which the most serious obstructions arise to their industry and employment. That vile beverage, whiskey, so cheaply purchased, and so generally diffused, affords them an easy opportunity of gratifying this destructive passion; and, where they are, from habit
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and example, strongly enough addicted to the crime, presents them an additional temptation, by the facility with which it is obtained. I know no evil which more strongly demands the interference of the legislature, or which requires more efficacious measures to be adopted for its diminution.

As one consequence of the general prevalence of ebriety, the lower Irish are remarkably riotous. I do not here so much allude to Whiteboyism, and other public disturbances, which owe their origin chiefly to other causes, as to their quarrels among themselves. Their fairs are frequently the scenes of confusion, riot, disturbance and bloodshed: fired with the fumes of whiskey, one acquaintance quarrels with another; the friends of each espouse his cause; *their* relations and acquaintances inevitably fall in as parties, till the quarrel spreading in compound progression includes, perhaps, a majority of the multitude. Instances, indeed, of this nature are becoming every day considerably less frequent.

Combinations, risings, and outrage, among tradesmen, are far from unusual. Their pretexts upon such occasions are often truly ridiculous.

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I have known a tumultuous mob of coopers assemble in one city to demolish the stores of a merchant, because he found it advantageous to export some of his hog's flesh saved as bacon, and consequently required somewhat a smaller number of casks than when all was exported saved as pork; and on five being taken up and confined, the bakers refused to bake, and the butchers to kill meat, till they were liberated.

Tradesmen in Ireland have much less cause of complaint than any other class of labourers. Their wages are nearly as high as in England, and the natural and artificial necessities of life much cheaper. "When it is considered," says Mr. Young, "that common labour in Ireland is but little more than a third of what it is in England, it is extraordinary that artizans are paid nearly, if not full as high, as in that kingdom."

The lower Irish are to a remarkable degree lawlessly inclined. It is well known that instead of being anxious to apprehend offenders, or to assist the execution of the law, they are in general ready to give the former every assistance to escape; and to resist the latter, unless
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awed by superior force. Of these propensities many proofs may be given, by instances of rescue, forcible possession, and other similar proceedings; but the fact is too notorious to require any evidence.

Such are the predominant qualities of the Irish people connected with our present subject; and they all evidently tend to the discouragement of industrious pursuits, and the obstruction of employment. The general character of the nation we are not to appreciate: innumerable good qualities might be adduced, to counterbalance the defects we have stated; but they partake more of the energy of courage, the warmth of patriotism, and generosity of hospitality, than the cool, considerate, and prudent perseverance of industry.

But, however uninviting, nay discouraging, to the votary of this latter quality, is the picture we have drawn; one cheering consideration results from the view: and that is, that the defects which have been noticed are daily diminishing. The middling ranks are becoming more attentive to their debts, and less indulgent to their extravagance. A spirit of industry is in-
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fusing its regenerating vigour among them ; the vain and ridiculous aversion to the pursuits of commerce, or other industrious occupations, is wearing out, and the encouragement of agriculture more generally attended to. The lower class are becoming more industrious, more wealthy, more independent : and the consequence is, that all the subordinate vices we have mentioned are every day less frequent. In my own memory, a considerable amelioration in this respect has taken place. Still, however, the vices alluded to, though diminishing, do exist. We have asserted that all such must be owing to political errors. Let us try and discover to what they are to be attributed, and enforce the necessity, and devise the means, of removing the causes productive of such ruinous consequences.

To determine the political sources to which are to be traced the general dissipation, extravagance, and want of industry we have described as so prevalent among the middle class of the Irish, is a task not so easily accomplished, as we shall find a similar attempt respecting the lower orders of the people. The general causes, however, may be discovered, and from these more subordinate ones have originated.

One fruitful source of the appearances described is the general character of the ancestors of the present race. Soldiers of fortune, and unacquainted with industrious pursuits, their settlement and possessions here were obtained, not by the gradual operation of industry, but the more rapid exertions of power. The quick succession of revolutions and rebellions, which the island experienced, gave frequent occasion to the exertions of such authority, both in favour of its natives and those foreigners who espoused the conquering cause; and confiscation is the tenure to which by far the greater portion of the landed property of the nation may be ultimately traced. Unlike those original emigrants to the northern states of America, who, flying from the hand of persecution, carried with them the habits of industry they have transmitted to their posterity, those who were instantaneously invested with possessions in this island, without looking to futurity, sought only to extract the most immediate emolument, and greatest degree of power from their sudden acquisitions, and to enjoy both in the indulgence of that authority and idleness, hospitality and dissipation, to which, from former habits, they were naturally addicted. Such is the general influence of family example, that

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original characters of this nature are more difficult to be eradicated, and give a tinge to succeeding generations for a greater length of time, than can well be imagined. America affords a convincing proof of the truth of this remark. The observant eye can discover, not only the obvious difference of character between the prodigal and idle Creole of Mexico, and the frugal and industrious planter of Connecticut, but also the less perceptible diversity of manners which exists among the different tribes who inhabit the northern states; and, in the first, as well as the latter instance, the judicious and historic mind may trace the several distinguishing traits of each to the peculiar characteristics of their original ancestors.

Another general source of the idleness and dissipation so prevalent among the middle ranks of life in Ireland, is the discouragement to industrious occupations, occasioned by the various restraints under which she laboured for a series of years. A people, such as I have described, would have required the fostering hand of encouragement to tempt them to industrious undertakings; the agriculture and commerce of the island should have been assisted, at least not depressed,

depressed, and the advantages resulting from engaging in them rendered so obvious, as to allure her natives from idleness and dissipation, to the more profitable prosecution of opposite pursuits.

These appear to have been the generally operating causes, to which is to be attributed that character we have described as so prevalent among the middle ranks of life in Ireland. Others of a subordinate nature may, no doubt, be discovered, but need not here be particularly insisted on, as, for the most part, proceeding from these general sources, and not so much connected with the subject of our Essay.

As the prevailing characteristics of the middle, so may those of the lower class of the inhabitants of Ireland be traced to the operation of political causes. The two which appear to have possessed most influence in the formation of their character, are Oppression and Poverty. The existence of these causes I shall first demonstrate; their operation shall be afterwards briefly explained. Fully to comprehend the degree of oppression to which the lower Irish have been exposed for ages would, require more particular

consideration, a more minute detail, than can here be allotted to it—a general sketch must suffice, and will probably be sufficient for our purposes: and, to render it more comprehensive, we shall first take a brief historical view of their treatment for some centuries back, and afterwards consider their actual situation at present.

Whatever credit may be due to the splendid accounts of antiquarians, respecting the civilization, wise institutions, and happy state of the Irish nation in more remote ages, it is certain that at the period of the first descent of the English under Henry II. they were at any rate as barbarous and unpolished as any of the other then uncivilized states of Europe. Some writers would have us believe they were infinitely more so; but in the discussion of their comparative merits, as to this point, we are little interested. At the period alluded to, the latter end of the twelfth century, the situation of the poorer orders was, all over Europe, melancholy: but the Irish peasantry were at that time, and for several subsequent ages, exposed to more than ordinary oppression. The institutions and customs of the country itself were peculiarly unfavourable to their interests. Their chieftains, and
the

the heads of the subordinate septs and clans, seem to have possessed the power of fleecing and oppressing their inferiors almost at will; or at least the pretext and rules by which their exactions were extorted were of such nature, that both the liberty and property of the poor were at the mercy of every petty and despotic Kern.

Of this many proofs may be adduced. The institution of what was termed *Coin and Livery*, originally Irish, and something similar to the institution of *purveyance* in other states, was as powerful an instrument of oppression as could be entrusted to a multitude of uncivilized chiefs. This consisted in taking man's-meat and horse-meat, as they were called, and money at will, from all the inhabitants of the country, for the support of the soldiery.

The Irish chieftains and Tanists exacted, as feignoral rights, assessments equally grievous, and favouring of barbarity. Such were *Cosherings*, or visits of the lord and his family among his dependents, on whom he lived during his progress at free cost. *Sellings*, or the maintenance of his horses and horse-boys, dogs and dog-

boys. Other exactions were practised under the name of *Cuttings*, *Tallages*, &c. all of which, as Sir John Davies says, "made the lord an absolute tyrant, and the tenant a very slave and villain; and, in one respect, more miserable than bond-slaves; for commonly the bond-slave is fed by his lord, but here the lord was fed by his bond-slave."

The descent of the English, instead of meliorating the situation, aggravated the miseries of the unfortunate Irish peasant. The natural progress of civilization might have abolished those oppressive remnants of the feudal system, as well in Ireland as the other European states. The settlement of the English, by throwing the kingdom into a state of almost perpetual warfare, and consequently protracting its civilization, not only riveted those remnants of barbarity, but heaped additional miseries on a people already devoted and oppressed. As barbarous and prone to oppression as the chiefs they invaded, these settlers adopted, and, if I may prostitute the expression, improved on the institution of coin and livery. "The English," says their countryman, Sir John Davies, "when they had learned it, used it with more insolence, and
" made

“ made it more intolerable ; for this oppression
 “ was not temporary, or limited either to place
 “ or time ; but, because there was every where
 “ a continual war, either offensive or defensive,
 “ and every lord of a country and every marcher
 “ made war and peace at his pleasure, it be-
 “ came universal and perpetual, and was, in-
 “ deed, the most heavy oppression that ever
 “ was used in any Christian or Heathen king-
 “ dom.”

The English not only oppressed the natives
 of the island, by adopting, and executing with
 increased rigour, the ruinous institutions they
 found existing ; those they themselves fabricated
 were equally calculated to oppress with addi-
 tional miseries an already wretched race. This
 will be sufficiently evident from a review of
 the general conduct of the English settlers, and
 the inhabitants of the English pale, towards the
 Irish people. The latter were reputed aliens
 and enemies ; they were allowed no compensa-
 tion or remedy for any trespasses committed
 against them, by the inhabitants of the pale.
 They frequently requested to be admitted to the
 participation of the English laws and institutions,
 and were refused. Intermarriage with them was,

by the statute of Kilkenny, deemed a capital crime; and their invaders had the audacity so far to insult the rights of human nature as to adjudge, that the murder of an Irishman was no felony*. How similar the sentiments entertained, by their oppressors, of the West Indian negro, and Irish peasant!

From these sketches may be formed a tolerable general idea of the situation of the great mass of the Irish people from the reign of Hen-

* At a general gaol delivery at Limerick, before the Lord Justice in the fourth year of Edward II. it is recorded, that
 “ Wilielmus filius Rogeri, reſtatus de morte Rogeri de Canteton felonice per ipſum interfecti, venit et dicit, quod
 “ feloniam per interfectionem prædictam committere non
 “ potuit, quia dicit quod prædict. Rogerus *Hibernicus* eſt
 “ et non de *libero ſanguine*. Dicit etiam quod prædict. Rogerus fuit de cognomine de O’Hederifcal, et non de cognomine de Canteton; et de hoc ponit ſe ſuper patriam, &c. et Jurati dicunt ſuper ſacram: ſuum, quod prædict. Rogerus Hibernicus fuit, et de cognomine de O’Hederifcal, et pro Hibernico habebatur tota vita ſua. *Ideo* prædict. Wilielmus quoad feloniam prædict. *quietus*. Sed quia prædict. Rogerus O’Hederifcal fuit Hibernicus domini regis, prædictus Wilielmus recommittatur gaolæ quouſque plegios invenerit de *quinque Marcis ſolvendis* Dom. Regi pro ſolutione prædicti Hibernici.” *Archiv. in Caſtr. Dub. apud Davies.*

ry II. to that of James I. Exposed to the combined insolence, extortion, and rapacity of domestic and foreign despots, the historian will scarcely be able to discover an instance in any age or country, of a people more wretched and miserable, more injured and oppressed. At this period some little improvement in their situation was effected. The institution of coin and livery was abolished; the war carried on by Elizabeth had in a great measure destroyed the power of the petty chiefs throughout the kingdom; the benefits of the English law were, for the first time, *equally* extended to all its inhabitants; and this, as Sir John Davies says, “ though somewhat distasteful to the Irish lords, “ was sweet and most welcome to the common people; who, albeit they were rude and “ barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend “ the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they lived before, and “ the just government and protection which we “ *promised* unto them for the time to come.”

This apparent dawn of better days was soon, however, to be overcast. The unhappy difference in religious points, which had commenced some years before, ripened at length to the
unfor-

unfortunate and infamous rebellion of 1641. This and the subsequent civil war in 1688, in their consequences, reduced the lower Irish to almost as wretched a state as ever; and the penal code completed, under Queen Anne, a system which pollutes the annals of the nation that gave it birth, was the concluding act of injury exercised over an oppressed, persecuted, and at length dejected people. The liberal spirit of an enlightened and enlightening age has at last repealed the most obnoxious articles of this disgraceful code. The situation of the peasant has, since the final pacification of the kingdom, but more especially since the settlement of its constitution in 1782, been daily improving; the exactions of a barbarous age are no longer known; but it remains to be considered whether the Irish commonalty are not still exposed to the oppression of the powerful, the contumely of the rich, the insult of the haughty.

It is equally certain, and to be lamented, that the Irish peasantry of even the present day are exposed to, and experience a greater degree of domestic tyranny than can well be imagined. A residence of some continuation among them is requisite fully to comprehend, as well the obvious

obvious and open outrages of the unfeeling *gentleman bully*, as the various little exactions and oppressions of the authoritative landlord. The writer of this Essay has had many opportunities of knowing the real situation of the lower Irish. He might adduce instances from his own observation, of the hard treatment they frequently experience, and the extortions to which they are daily exposed: but a repetition of the former would be disgusting, a petty detail of the latter tedious. Of both a very adequate idea may be formed from the just and liberal remarks of Mr. Young. We shall give an extract from them in place of any description of our own; only remarking, that the improvement he notices has, since his Tour, been progressive, and, even during so short a period, far from inconsiderable. “ It must be very apparent to every
 “ traveller through the country, that the la-
 “ bouring poor are treated with harshness, and
 “ are in all respects so little considered, that their
 “ want of importance seems a perfect contrast to
 “ their situation in England, of which country,
 “ comparatively speaking, they reign the sove-
 “ reigns. The age has improved so much in hu-
 “ manity, that even the poor Irish have experi-
 “ enced its influence; and are every day treated
 “ bet-

“better and better. But still the remnant of the
 “old manners, the abominable distinction of re-
 “gion, united with the oppressive conduct of
 “the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin
 “of the kingdom, who never were out of it, al-
 “together bear still very heavy on the poor peo-
 “ple, and subject them to situations more morti-
 “fying than we ever beheld in England.—A
 “landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order
 “which a servant, labourer, or cottier, dares re-
 “fuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an
 “unlimited submission ; disrespect, or any thing
 “tending towards sauciness, he may punish with
 “his cane or his horsewhip with the most per-
 “fect security. A poor man would have his
 “bones broke if he offered to lift his hand in
 “his own defence. Knocking down is spoken
 “of in the country in a manner that makes an
 “Englishman stare.—If a poor man lodges a
 “complaint against a gentleman, or any animal
 “that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and a
 “justice issues out a summons for his appear-
 “ance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infalli-
 “bly be *called out*. Where *manners* are in con-
 “spiracy against *law*, to whom are the oppressed
 “people to have recourse?”—Even if an unfor-
 tunate individual, treated in the harshest man-
 ner,

ner, finds any justice hardy enough to receive his information, and attempts to punish his oppressor at the general assizes, I merely ask one simple question—Is it not ten to one that the grand jury will throw out the bills of indictment?

This is very much the case in the west of England 1796.
The exactions and extortions which those said little country gentlemen are guilty of, in a thousand different ways, are too well known to require any proof; we shall have occasion hereafter slightly to notice them.

To offer any evidence of the poverty which prevails among the Irish commonalty would surely be superfluous: it is too obvious to escape the notice of the most inattentive, too considerable not to possess a powerful influence on their character, and so universally acknowledged, as to render any proof of its existence unnecessary. Its prevalence has probably been occasioned by the disturbed state of the nation for several ages, by the general discouragement to industrious pursuits already noticed, and by that oppression to which the peasantry have been exposed from so many sources, and through so many centuries.

It

It is not difficult to determine how the facts we have mentioned have influenced the character of the Irish commonalty, and sullied it with the defects already stated. The relation between cause and effect is probably as steady and uniform in the moral and political, as in the natural world. If the human mind be, as we suppose it, ultimately similar in every variety of our species, the same causes to whose operation it is exposed, must, in similar situations, be universally followed by similar consequences. The great difficulty in all such inquiries is, to trace the operation of the several collateral circumstances, which modify the impression of the generally operating cause.

Conformably to this leading principle, it will be found, that considerable and continued oppression has uniformly degraded the character of any unfortunate people over whom it has been exerted. In the instance before us, many of the leading traits in the character of the lower Irish may easily be traced to this original. "Extortion and oppression," as Sir John Davies says, "hath been the true cause of the idleness of this Irish nation." Oppression is universally the parent of idleness, especially when accompanied
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by exaction and rapacity ; both have existed to an enormous degree among us, and both, though considerably diminished, still exist. National habits, once acquired, are not easily eradicated ; and that idleness which the more open, desultory, and barbarous violence of former ages introduced, is continued by the more uniform and *gentlemanly* oppression of the present.

To the same cause are to be attributed the fawning flattery, the low cunning, the tendency to falsehood, with which our unfortunate peasantry may, with too much truth, I cannot say with too much justice, be reproached. Man resists, by nature and by instinct, the insulting arm of power ; but if such resistance be unfortunately ineffectual, he seeks the debasing protection of flattery, craft, and cunning, the resources of the slave in every age and every nation. *Ingenium mala sæpe movent.* Deprived of independence, man, as well as the more inferior species of the animal creation, deserts the dignity of nature, and assumes an artificial and degrading character.

To the same oppression are we to trace the lawless inclinations of the Irish peasant. Feeling
little

little protection from the law, he is little interested in its support. Conscious of the inefficacy of statutes to his defence, he seeks the protection of his more powerful master*; who defends him from fellow-lordlings, more, in general, from a sense of injury which any attack on his vassal is supposed to convey, than from motives of philanthropy or general equity and independence. Hence, if the chief be engaged in any lawless attempt, if he be desirous, for instance, of forcing or detaining an unwarrantable possession, the nod is given to his dependents, and his dictates obeyed, not only without murmur, but with alacrity.

To the destructive influence of oppression upon the character of the lower Irish, is added that of general and extreme poverty. To this the thieving disposition they are reproached with is to be principally attributed. It is an old saying, that "necessity has no law;" and the wretch who feels himself and family pinched with hunger, and exposed in rags to the inclemency of seasons, is in some degree excusable in pilfering, from his oppressors, the means of scanty

* The common appellation for landlord in Ireland.

and

and temporary relief. Where the situation of the poor has been bettered, their thieving has been uniformly found to diminish: render their circumstances comfortable, it will entirely disappear.

The misery and idleness occasioned by poverty and oppression united, is a principal source of the prevalent tendency to ebriety, and the consequent riotous feuds so remarkable among the Irish. Drunkenness is the solace of misery, the resource of idleness, the great pleasure of the uncivilized in every quarter of the world. Habit and example confirm and extend a practice so destructive; but as general wealth increases, and as industry and civilization become diffused, it is gradually diminished, and, as a national stigma, at length effaced.

Combinations and outrages among tradesmen are usually the effects of idleness, drunkenness, and poverty united. Remove the causes, the frequency of their consequences will cease. Such occurrences require, beside, the immediate intervention of power: they should be instantly and efficaciously checked by the exertion of authority. An enraged rabble knows no moderation,

tion, and, ignorant of their real origin, increase in general the evils they desire to meliorate. But while the more enlightened should repress with force such blind impetuosity, they should use every exertion to remove the original causes which give it birth, nor neglect the radical, while engaged in the application of palliative remedies.

If the character we have drawn, and the sources to which it has been traced, are alike injurious to the advancement of general industry and the employment of the people; it becomes, in the present Essay, an object of considerable importance to point out the most universally effectual means of altering and improving it. Such appear to be the measures most efficacious for removing those causes, to which the general characters have been traced; and from no one, perhaps, is so much efficacy to be expected as from the introduction and general diffusion of a greater degree of wealth among the lower orders of the people. Render the situation of the peasant more comfortable, give him some little capital to enable him to prosecute his necessary occupations, let the defence, forbearance, or assistance of his superiors be no longer necessary requisites
to

to his protection or subsistence, and he will re-assume the dignity of independence, to which he has so long been a stranger, and spurn at the oppression to which he now patiently submits. Then would the wretch who now skulks behind the shield of some little despot, claim and feel the more equal protection of the laws, at present dormant, and demand as his right, what he now supplicates as a favour. Oppression has been the principal source of that poverty under which he vegetates rather than lives, and the continuance of poverty prolongs this oppression. The acquisition of wealth would both enable the industrious to prosecute their pursuits, and give additional vigour to the industry which should animate them in the prosecution. Idleness and servility, theft and drunkenness, and the various subordinate blemishes of character, would disappear; and the manners of the people no longer combine, with the other misfortunes to which they have been or are exposed, to retard their industry, and obstruct their employment *.

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* Let it not be for a moment imagined, that the picture we have delineated, of the former and present state of the Irish commonalty, is intended to exasperate their feelings, or give a shadow of countenance to their riotous and tumultuous

Another powerful engine which may be employed in the reformation of character, is Education ;

tuous meetings. There was no period when they had *less* reason to be dissatisfied with their situation than the present ; and more has been effected towards meliorating their condition, during the last ten years, than during preceding centuries. The almost total repeal of the penal laws has completely restored them to the rank and advantages of their fellow-subjects. The corn bounties have brought to their doors a ready and profitable market for the produce of their farms ; and the modification of the hearth-tax has relieved numbers of the most distressed from an assessment, to them, grievous and heavy. If to these be added the improved and improving manners, and more enlarged ideas of their immediate superiors, and the milder treatment which must necessarily result therefrom, the melioration in their circumstances, within so short a space of time, will be found at once considerable and progressive. Then why, at such a period as the present, make public any remarks which *may* excite or countenance commotion and disturbance ? — Because the evils we have noted, as before observed, though diminishing, still exist—their *complete* correction would prevent more efficaciously, perhaps, than any other circumstance, the returns of riot and disorder—and, to *expedite* such a reformation, it is surely necessary that the vices in question be made known, and generally understood. Besides, the *present* disturbances of the kingdom do not, to a certainty, arise from the oppression or other causes mentioned in the text, and which are in a state of progressive diminution ; nor can they, it is presumed, be countenanced or increased by any remarks it contains. It is, indeed,

cation; of which an extensive and applicable system should be introduced among our peasantry; to whose other disadvantages is added that of extreme ignorance, and no opportunity of information.

deed, to be feared, these commotions originate from other sources; from the machinations of the despicable few, who wish to overturn the happy constitution of these realms, and who push forward a wretched people, unconscious of the secret motives of such agitators, to the execution of the sword or of the altar. Fortunately, however, for our island, the arm of its government is sufficiently vigorous to quell such factious innovators; and, fortunately, the great majority of *Irishmen* are, indeed, *united* in steady opposition to their desperate councils. Nothing penned in the preceding pages can possibly countenance, if properly understood, the projects of such reformers; and if any of the positions laid down be erroneous, our errors are the mistakes of philanthropy, not the mis-statements of sedition,

S E C T I O N III.

On the best Means of providing Employment
for the People of Ireland.

*The most generally efficacious is the increase and
diffusion of capital—Respective value of Agri-
culture—Manufactures—Commerce.*

HAVING briefly treated of the soil, situ-
ation, and productions of our island; and
considered the general character of its inhabi-
tants, and the most efficacious measures for cor-
recting those defects in it which may obstruct
their industry and employment; we are in this
section to determine what are the best means
of providing them with such employment. We
shall first premise some general considerations,
and afterwards investigate the subject under the
subordinate heads of AGRICULTURE, MANU-
FACTURES, and COMMERCE.

It may be assumed as an axiom, that the in-
dustrious employment of any people must be

proportioned, *cæteris paribus*, to the quantity of capital they possess. This will be so evident from considering that capital is the only fund for such employment, from recurring to different pages of the first part of this Essay, and from consulting the second Book of doctor Smith's profound Inquiry, that I shall not run the hazard of appearing tedious by adducing any additional arguments in its support.

As capital, therefore, is the fund and source of employment, the most efficacious means of promoting this latter, especially in any country where capital is deficient, must be those which tend most to increase that capital. The general *diffusion* of capital, likewise, among a people, appears a circumstance essentially requisite to the general promotion of employment. Where capital to a large amount is accumulated in the hands of a few, its beneficial influence in promoting employment cannot be near so extensive, as where the same amount of capital is diffused among a greater number of proprietors. It is the peculiar tendency of the mercantile system to create such an accumulation, to enrich a few at the expence of the majority, and frequently, by the conflux of fleets, the sumptuous-

ness of trading towns, and the splendour of the merchant, to give the appearance of general wealth and employment, while a considerable majority of the nation are, in a great degree, destitute of both. Such a partial accumulation of capital may be compared to a morbid congestion of blood in the human frame; its more general diffusion, to the brisk and equable circulation of health.

Ireland is a country in which capital is deficient, and in which the little capital she is possessed of is partially and unequally distributed. The mercantile part of the community possesses little, the agricultural scarcely any.

That branch of industry, therefore, which tends most forcibly at once to increase and equably distribute her general capital, is what should be preferred and encouraged before any other. Such, precisely, is *Agriculture*, which, independent of its other numerous recommendations, already stated, is that from which the most speedy, certain, and considerable increase of employment is to be expected. Her *Manufactures* are the next most important branch of industry. Her *Commerce*, though necessarily a valuable

valuable department, is that which should last engage our concern. We shall investigate the most advisable measures for increasing the general employment of the people by these several measures, premising a few observations of Dr. Smith, on these subjects, which will give additional weight to the opinions we have advanced, and which are peculiarly applicable to the situation of our island.

“ A particular country, in the same manner
 “ as a particular person, may frequently not
 “ have capital sufficient, both to improve and
 “ cultivate all its lands, to manufacture and pre-
 “ pare their whole rude produce for immedi-
 “ ate use and consumption, and to transport
 “ the surplus part either of the rude or manu-
 “ factured produce, to distant markets.

“ When the capital of any country is not
 “ sufficient for all these three purposes, in pro-
 “ portion as a greater share of it is employed
 “ in agriculture, the greater will be the quan-
 “ tity of productive labour which it puts in
 “ motion within the country, as will likewise
 “ be the value which its employment adds to
 “ the annual produce of the land and labour
 “ of the society. After agriculture, the capital,
 “ employ-

“ employed in manufactures, puts into motion
 “ the greatest quantity of productive labour,
 “ and adds the greatest value to the annual
 “ produce. That which is employed in the trade
 “ of exportation has the least effect of any of
 “ the three.

“ The country, indeed, which has not ca-
 “ pital sufficient for all these three purposes, has
 “ not arrived at that degree of opulence for
 “ which it seems naturally destined. To at-
 “ tempt, however, prematurely, and with an in-
 “ sufficient capital, to do all the three, is cer-
 “ tainly not the shortest way for a society, no
 “ more than it would be for an individual, to
 “ acquire a sufficient one.—It is likely to in-
 “ crease the fastest, when it is employed in the
 “ way that affords the greatest revenue to *all*
 “ the inhabitants of the country, as they will
 “ thus be enabled to make the greatest sav-
 “ ings. But the revenue of all the inhabitants
 “ of a country is necessarily in proportion to
 “ the value of the annual produce of their land
 “ and labour. It has been the principal cause
 “ of the rapid progress of our American colo-
 “ nies towards wealth and greatness, that almost
 “ their whole capitals have been hitherto em-
 “ ployed in agriculture.”

§ I. AGRICULTURE.

§ I. AGRICULTURE.

Proofs of its low state in Ireland—from the appearance of the country—from inferiority of products—Causes of the inferiority of Irish agriculture—1. Want of capital—Proofs of this—Effects of the want of capital—2. High rent of lands—Calculation of the proportion paid by English and Irish tenants—3. Ruinous mode of setting lands in Ireland—4. Middle-men—Raise the rent of land—oppress the lower class, and are guilty of extortion and exaction—Do not improve the soil—Their existence a proof of the backward state of agriculture—5. Grazing—injurious to any country—Its ruinous effects in Ireland proved—From Mr. Young—From Dr. Campbell—Graziers monopolize land and raise the rent paid by the peasantry—Low profits of grazing—Summary of the effects of grazing—Grazing not to be entirely deserted—Vote of agistment—6. Tithe—7. Farming manufacturers—Injuries they occasion—Modes of removing the impediments to agriculture, viz. 1. Augmenting the capital of the immediate occupiers of the soil—2. Altering the mode of setting lands—Advice to landlords on this subject—Practice has confirmed the

the justice of these conclusions—3. Securing an advantageous market to the farmer—Inland bounty—Bounty on the exportation of corn—Proofs of its good effects—Objections to bounties considered—Doctor Smith's chief objection—Answered—His objection, at any rate, inapplicable to Ireland—4. Abolition of tithe—Address to the clergy on the subject—Generality of the clergy desire the abolition—Objection to it answered—A better mode of raising the incomes of the clergy could be devised, and upon what principle—5. Grazing to be diminished—Statutes to this purpose ineffectual—What is the effectual mode—6. Number of farming manufacturers, how to be diminished—Agriculture to be directly encouraged by the Dublin Society—Remarks on their premiums—County societies recommended—Cultivation of barren lands to be encouraged.

§ I. AGRICULTURE.

IN investigating the most efficacious modes of advancing agriculture in Ireland, and consequently the employment of her people, I shall consider, first, the present agriculture of the kingdom, and the causes of its depressed and wretched state; and, secondly, the best means of removing the defects and obstructions to it which exist, and of promoting its general improvement.

The low and wretched state of agriculture in Ireland requires little proof: even those perfectly unacquainted with its practice, who have seen the rich and regularly cultivated fields of Flanders and England, must be convinced, from a glance, of its great inferiority. Mouldering fences, scanty crops, weeds universally prevalent, and a thousand other similar symptoms, evince it but too forcibly. Farmers by profession, who have made more particular inquiries, give decisive proofs that this inferiority is more than apparent. The annual products of a soil, fertile by nature, fall far short of those which the regular,

lar, opulent, and skilful husbandman extracts from the earth in countries naturally more barren and unproductive. I shall content myself with one proof of this remark, from the Tour of the judicious Mr. Young. He draws the following averages of the products of England and Ireland:

England produces per Acre,

Wheat, 3 quarters 0 bushels 0 pecks.

Oats, 4 6 0

Barley, 4 0 0

Ireland produces per Acre,

Wheat, 2 quarters 2 bushels 3 pecks.

Oats, 3 4 3

Barley, 3 4 3

“ The products, upon the whole, are *much*
 “ inferior to those of England, though not more
 “ than I should have expected, not from inferiority of soil, but *extreme* inferiority of management.” But even “ they are not to be
 “ considered as points whereon to found a full
 “ comparison of the two countries ; since a small
 “ crop

“ crop of wheat in England, gained after beans,
 “ clover, &c. would be of much more import-
 “ ance than a larger one in Ireland by fallow.
 “ —Tillage in Ireland is very little understood.
 “ In the greatest corn counties, such as Louth,
 “ Kildare, Carlow, and Kilkenny, where are to
 “ be seen many fine crops of wheat, all is un-
 “ der the old system, exploded by good far-
 “ mers in England, of sowing wheat upon a
 “ fallow, and succeeding it with as many crops
 “ of spring corn as the soil will bear.”

The causes to which the inferiority of Irish
 agriculture is to be attributed are numerous.
 We shall investigate those in their operation most
 extensive, in their nature most injurious.

One of the most prevailing and powerful
 causes of the backward state of Irish agricul-
 ture is, the *want of capital* among the imme-
 diate cultivators of the soil. This want of ca-
 pital is obviously evident from their wretched ap-
 pearance, and miserable modes of life. Behold
 the Irish husbandman sally forth to his work,
 barefoot and covered with rags: behold his
 ruinous hovel, built of mud, covered with weeds,
 and pervious to every shower that falls, and
 every

every pinching gale that blows. Behold him seated, after a hard day's labour, by a fire gleaned, perhaps, from the furze brake that over-spreads his lands, involved in smoke, surrounded by a naked offspring, and sharing among them his dry and scanty meal. Look at his farm; a car thrown across a gap protects, in place of gates, the superior verdure of some reserved pasture; at which his lean horse, if such he possess, or starving cow, casts a hungry and desponding eye—his miserable crops are overrun with weeds; his temporary fences tumbling to decay; and every surrounding object, in short, affords convincing testimony of his extreme poverty. The want of capital among the Irish occupiers of land is equally evinced from considering the different motives to labour, by which they, and the more opulent farmers of other countries, are actuated. The Irish husbandman cultivates the earth merely to support existence. As he expends no capital, he looks not to a return of profit. He expects no recompence for a life of labour, but the means of its prolongation. The English, or other opulent farmer, expects from his profession not merely the recompence of his own labour, or the means of sustaining life, but the accumulation of profit

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proportionate to the amount of capital which he expends in its prosecution.

Agriculture, as well as every other branch of business, requires, to be carried to any degree of perfection, a fund or capital which is at first expended in a variety of preliminary operations without any immediate advantage, but which ultimately returns with accumulated profit. In England, no man thinks of taking a farm without a certain proportion of capital, and a stock of farming utensils. In Ireland, the wretched peasant will undertake the management of many acres without sixpence in his pocket, and no means of breaking and improving the stubborn glebe but the spade he carries on his shoulder. To remedy as much as possible these inconveniencies, he associates with others in a similar situation; thus endeavouring to supply the place of capital, and the various necessary apparatus of agriculture, by an union of the powers of that rude labour, which, if divided, must be still more inadequate to the task it attempts to effect. Hence arises the destructive system of taking large farms in partnership: a practice in a great degree necessary, while the husbandman is so abjectly poor and

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unprovided; but which always disappears in proportion as he acquires capital, and consequently the necessary mechanical implements of his profession. At present, the possession of the most necessary of all these implements, the plough, is, in several parts of the kingdom, by no means considered as essential to constitute a farmer: nay, even where a farm is taken by a number of wretched cottagers in partnership, there frequently is not one in the whole colony. In general they scratch the surface of their corn lands with the spade, and where their fields are too extensive for this management, perhaps there are half a dozen ploughs in a parish, the owners of which earn their livelihood by hiring them out by the day at a very high rate.

But how can any advances in the most important of all arts be expected from a people thus circumstanced? As well may it be supposed that the savage, unacquainted with machinery and the mechanic powers, could successfully imitate the most difficult exertions of the European, possessed of both.

Another cause which has frequently been mentioned, as destructive of the agriculture of Ireland,

land, is the *high rent of land*. In considering this subject some difficulty occurs. Mr. Young, in his Tour, has given a calculation of the general rental of the kingdom from *hearsay*, which makes the acreable rent considerably below that of England. The average landlord's rent of Ireland he makes, by this computation, 5s. 6d. English per English acre. The average landlord's rent of England he calculated, in his different tours, to be 11s. 4d. per English acre. (See Appendix to his Tour.) The data on which this calculation of the Irish rental is founded, are, to any person acquainted with the average rental of different counties, evidently fallacious. I, for myself, am certain, that the average he gives of one county is below the truth. This, indeed, he acknowledges *may* be the case, and assigns reasons for supposing so. As he traversed, himself, the kingdom in different lines, and sets down in a table the rent, as well of the barren districts of Connaught, Kerry, and the Galtees, as of the fertile counties of Tipperary and Limerick; the minutes of his own journey form much more certain data for such a calculation. This calculation he has made, and the average rental *thus* obtained is 10s. 3d. per English acre. Even this, however, is probably below the average

rent paid by the immediate occupiers of the land, for the reason he himself assigns. "The rents," says he, "from which these particulars were drawn, were not those paid by the *occupying* tenant; but a general average of all tenures. Whereas the object one would ascertain, is the sum paid by the occupier, including, consequently, not only the landlord's rent, but the profit of the middle-man." But, farther, Mr. Young calculates as follows: "I have reason to believe that five pounds sterling per English acre, expended all over Ireland, which amount to 88,341,136l. would not more than build, fence, drain, plant, and improve that country, to be upon a par in those respects with England: and farther, that if those eighty-eight millions were so expended, it would take much above twenty millions more, or above twenty shillings an acre in the hands of the farmers, in stock of husbandry, to put them on an equal footing with those of her sister kingdom. Nor is this calculation so vague as might at first sight appear, since the expences of improvement and stock are very easily estimated in both countries." If we wish to know the real proportion of rent paid by the English and Irish farmer, this immense sum is to be

be taken into account. Let us calculate its annual interest. The interest of 6l. per acre at 6 per cent. per annum is above 7s. 2d. per acre. This, therefore, is to be added to the actual sum received by the landlord, if we wish to ascertain the real proportion of rent paid by the English and Irish husbandman. By this calculation the acreable rent of Ireland, if improved as England is, would be 10s. 3d. and 7s. 2d. or 17s. 5d. The acreable rent of England is 11s. 4d.

From the different mode of *setting lands* in England and Ireland, the proportionate rent must to a certainty be higher in the latter than in the former country. In England, when a lease is expired, the proportion of rent to be paid in future is amicably adjusted between landlord and tenant, according to a general principle almost universally adhered to, viz. that the landlord is to receive one-third of the whole annual produce as his rent. This, even, however, he seldom receives. I have seen a calculation, according to which the English farmer generally made four rents per annum, often five and six. From the prevalence of this mode of agreement between landlord and tenant, when a lease is expired, a

third person scarcely ever interferes: the former occupier is supposed to have what is called a *tenant-right* to the premises. He is content to pay a reasonable advance for the improved state his farm may have arrived at; the landlord accepts the customary proportionate increase; and these customs, according to Smith, "so favourable to the yeomanry, have contributed more to the present grandeur of England than all their boasted regulations of commerce taken together."

In Ireland, the mode of setting lands is perfectly opposite, and as destructive a system of extortion as can be conceived. When a lease is expired, in place of such an amicable adjustment, the lands are advertised to be let to the highest bidder, the proposals of each are kept secret, and by this unfair species of auction, a promise of exorbitant rent is obtained, very frequently to the exclusion of the former occupier, who is considered as having no stronger claim to them than the most perfect stranger, unless he exceed him in the amount of the proposed rent. This practice of *cutting* lands, as it is termed, so universally prevalent, and so justly reprobated by every enlightened mind, proves severely injurious to
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agriculture in two ways: by paying for his land an exorbitant and disproportionate rent, the occupying farmer is kept in perpetual poverty, and prevented from acquiring that capital which would enable him to prosecute the cultivation of his farm more successfully; and as the farmer is certain that any improvements made upon his land will but enhance their value upon the expiration of his lease, and from the competition of the cant necessarily and considerably raise his rent; if he inclines to continue an occupier, he neglects any except those immediately necessary. Nay, he is tempted, as well from motives of present gain as from the desire of preventing others from outbidding him, to leave his farm in as ruinous a state as possible. Hence arise those clauses in leases, so frequent in Ireland, preventing the occupier from turning up above a certain number of acres of ground during the last three years of his lease.

But these are not the only injuries occasioned by the canting of lands; the evils are usually repeated between the proprietor of the estate and the cultivator; and this leads to the consideration of those nuisances, *middle-men*, as they are termed. These become the primary tenants to

large districts ; and dividing them into smaller, portion each out among the immediate occupiers and residents. Their only motive for taking these farms is the acquisition of some annual profit. To obtain this, as they have probably become tenants at an exorbitant rent themselves, they endeavour to gain such profit by setting up the lands among the wretched peasantry to an auction similar to that by which they themselves obtained them. The farm is published, as it is called, at the chapel or market town. Private proposals are to be made, and no preference to be expected, except by the highest bidder. Attached, from various motives, to the place of his residence, and having little prospect of bettering himself elsewhere, as every acre of land in his vicinity is probably in the hands of similar jobbers, the former proprietor is tempted to offer an extravagant rent, from the dread of being ousted from his little dwelling, by some more bold speculator. To this inconvenience, however, notwithstanding his advanced offers, he is frequently obliged to submit. A higher bidder is often at hand, who supplants the former wretched tenant, and either drags out a miserable existence under a disproportionate burden, or failing in the endeavours to discharge his promises, drives off his
starving

starving cattle, in the night, to some distant and mountainous district, and is no more heard of by his disappointed landlord.

But middle-men are injurious to the agricultural interests of Ireland in more ways than we have just mentioned. They are the class from whom the poor principally experience that oppression, to which we have asserted they are still subject. A middle-man, possessed of large farms, and resident among his tenantry, can, and too frequently does, act the despot over them without the semblance of resistance. Many of them have no leases but at will; but even those who have obtained a tenure of twenty-one or thirty-one years, are still liable to be turned out at the whim of the landlord; for although he may not be so daring as to attempt illegally to dispossess them, yet by driving their cattle when the rent falls due, and harrassing them in a variety of ways, he will compel them either to unlimited submission, or a voluntary surrender of their premises. By these means, and by the scandalous connivance of magistrates and juries, where a *gentleman* is in question, the middle-man possesses an uncontrouled dominion over his vassals; and those who know human nature will be but too

too sensible how liable such a possession is to abuse.

Beside the exorbitant rent which he engages to pay, the wretched tenant, in consequence of this power, is liable to further exactions from the resident middle-man. Is his master's turf to be cut and drawn home, the gratuitous service of himself and horse is expected. Are the gentleman's crops to be saved, although his own are rotting, and the scanty wages of labour, from a press of business, are somewhat raised in the neighbourhood; his attendance at the customary rate is expected, and expectation is enough. Does his lady want the luxury of eggs for breakfast——but it would be disgusting to descend to a detail of pitiful exactions, the very recital of which should raise the blushes of every petty lordling conscious of their perpetration.

An improvement in the agriculture of the kingdom might be hoped for from middle-men resident in the country, and, in their own defence, necessitated to practise some degree of husbandry. Vain are such expectations. A general improvement in agriculture will never be effected by gentlemen farmers. Their husbandry differs

little from that of the cottagers who surround them; their profits, in place of being so usefully employed, are expended in idle dissipation and extravagance. The yell of a pack of starving beagles is more pleasing to their ears than the song of the ploughman. The sight of their fellow sportsmen, drenched to insensibility in whiskey, more pleasing to their eyes, than luxuriant crops, and well cultivated fields. They are the class among whom what remains of the ferocious spirit of drinking, which formerly disgraced the kingdom, is still to be found; they are those from whom principally emanate all the bad consequences we have already ascribed to oppression, dissipation, extravagance, and pernicious example.

As the existence of an intermediate tenant between the possessor and immediate occupier of the soil, is a circumstance which, in the various ways we have mentioned, obstructs and depresses the agriculture of Ireland; so it affords an additional proof, beside those already given, of the low state of that important branch of employment. Middle-men are only known in the unimproved parts of every empire. In the central and well cultivated shires of England they do not
exist;

exist; in the distant and poorer districts there are some traces of them. In Scotland they are common; in Ireland they are wearing out in the more rich and best cultivated counties; in those of a contrary description they are almost universal. In France the same observations are applicable. In short, their number and frequency are in every country in an inverse ratio to its wealth and improvement.

Another division of the landholders of Ireland, who contribute considerably to the depression of agriculture, are the *graziers*. With respect to dissipation, extravagance, and oppression, this class are pretty much on the same footing with the middle-men we have just noticed. The branch of business they pursue is pregnant with additional obstacles to the cultivation and improvement of this or any other country where they are numerous. It would be as tedious as unnecessary to enter into a particular detail of the various modes by which the general practice of grazing must injure any country in which it predominates. The universal coincidence of political writers in their sentiments, as to its injurious tendency, precludes the necessity of any such minute discussion. That its prevalence in Ireland

has not been more propitious than elsewhere, is generally allowed, and might be easily demonstrated, even from the very appearance of those counties in which it most prevails. The agriculture and general face of the country is sufficiently poor, even in those districts of Ireland where tillage is most attended to and best understood; but its misery takes a still deeper hue in those counties naturally more fertile, where their fields are devoted to pasturage. For this, out of many others, take the testimony of two modern travellers. Mr. Young, speaking of the rich grazing lands of the county of Limerick, says,

“ In no part of Ireland have I seen more careless management, than in these rich lands; the face of the country is that of desolation; the grounds are overrun with thistles, ragwort, &c. to excess; the fences are mounds of earth full of gaps; there is no wood, and the general countenance is such, that you must examine into the soil before you will believe that a country which has so beggarly an appearance can be so rich and fertile.”

The other authority I shall quote is that of doctor Campbell. On approaching Munster, the grounds

grounds "assumed," says he, "a very different appearance from what I had before observed. The inauspicious effects of pasturage became, however, visible before I left Leinster. For ten or twelve miles on this side of Kilkenny the soil was far from rich; it was rather, indeed, poor; yet it was pretty well cultivated: the fields were inclosed with hedges and ditches, and the country embellished with houses and plantations. But as the ground improves, on approaching the borders of Munster, agriculture ceases, and not a house or a hedge or a ditch is to be seen; the country is abandoned by the human species, and peopled with sheep."

Graziers, by taking and monopolizing large tracts of land, and covering them with sheep and bullocks, not only considerably diminish the population they would naturally have arrived at, but render the situation of the few wretched peasantry who do remain attached to the soil, infinitely more miserable than that of those who inhabit less fertile districts. It is an observation which must strike every traveller through Munster, where grazing chiefly prevails, that the greater the fertility of the soil, the more wretched are

are the peasantry who occupy it. The cottager who struggles against nature on the barren mountain's side, is more comfortably circumstanced, than he whose possessions lie in districts exuberantly rich by nature. This is chiefly occasioned by the exorbitant rents the latter are obliged to pay in consequence of the extensive monopolies of graziers. Where the land is naturally so fertile as to yield spontaneously a profusion of rich herbage, sufficient to fatten the largest cattle, without the smallest exertion of agricultural labour, the rich and indolent grazier, satisfied if he can obtain a light profit upon each acre, with little trouble and attention, bids a high rent for, and obtains very extensive tracts; and either excludes entirely the labouring peasant, or re-lets to him a few acres at a further profit rent. But in those districts where nature is less propitious, and where the exertions of *some* labour and industry are absolutely requisite to extract *any* profit from the soil, the peasant, freed from such powerful competitors, obtains his land at somewhat a cheaper rate, and is enabled, of consequence, to effect greater improvements, and to live more comfortably than the inhabitants of the most fertile districts, on whom the bounty of nature operates as a curse, not a blessing.

Graziers

Graziers are almost the only occupiers of the soil in Ireland who possess any considerable capital. It requires a very large sum to stock an extensive fattening farm. The profits, however, arising from grazing, are beneath all due proportion inconsiderable. Mr. Young calculates that the sum necessary to stock a bullock farm is six pounds an acre, and that the annual profit, after all deductions, is but eight shillings and seven-pence, which is very little more than the legal interest of the money at six per cent. without taking into account the risk of loss of cattle, bad markets, &c. Although we are not to credit this calculation, it could be proved to a demonstration, that a profit infinitely superior to that really gained, might be procured by properly employing the same capital in agriculture. Why then does not self-interest lead the grazier into its practice? He is prevented by ignorance and indolence. The improved modes of agriculture he is unacquainted with; and were he blessed with the information, the comparative slothful ease he at present enjoys would not easily be forsaken for a more lucrative branch of business, which demanded greater exertion and attention.

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Many, therefore, and powerful are the impediments to employment which grazing occasions. It diminishes population; it promotes indolence. The extensive capital it requires, which in any other occupation would give work to thousands, supports but a few wretched and slothful herdsmen. As the profits of grazing are small, it diminishes the annual augmentation of national capital, which otherwise would be accumulated. As it checks and impedes the progress of agriculture, it depresses that branch of business from which we have shewn the most extensive, secure, and beneficial source of employment is to be expected.

Let it not be imagined that we would recommend a total desertion of grazing. Many large tracts in this island, as we have already hinted, are calculated for nothing else. Besides, the general pursuit of agriculture does not, by any means, include the total neglect of fattening. On the contrary, it is evident that, in all extensive countries, and especially in Ireland, whose climate is so favourable to pasturage, the universal and spirited practice of agriculture will, by the general introduction of artificial roots and grasses, at present almost unknown, increase the

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number of cattle fattened, and lower the price of butchers' meat ; while, at the same time, its fields will become populous, and the employment of their inhabitants beneficial and extensive.

The present system of grazing in Ireland, though so pernicious, is not a little encouraged by grazing lands being generally exempted from tithe. This is in consequence of a vote passed by the house of Commons in the year 1735, called the *Vote of Agistment* ; by which it was resolved, “ That the demand of tithe agistment “ for cattle was grievous and burdensome,—that “ all legal ways and means ought to be made “ use of to oppose all attempts for carrying de- “ mands for such tithe into execution, &c.” An exemption of this nature operates as a bounty on pasturage, and a tax on agriculture ; and it is manifestly unjust that the latter should bear the entire burden of supporting the clergy, and the former not contribute a farthing. This leads us to the consideration of another obstacle to the agriculture of Ireland.

Tithe. Much of what might be advanced on this head has been anticipated in the former part of this Essay. It has been there shewn, that any
tax

tax of this nature must considerably impede the advancement of agriculture in any country, and under any circumstances. But such a tax must be peculiarly destructive in its operation when agriculture is in a state of infancy, and where those who practise it labour under many other additional oppressions and inconveniencies. This is peculiarly the case in Ireland, where this branch of industry should receive every encouragement, and be relieved as much as possible from every burden. Many facts have been lately advanced in our senate, and many publications issued from our press, respecting the peculiar severity with which tithe has been exacted in different parts of this kingdom. From the political situation of the Irish peasant, he must be more exposed to exaction than the more rich and independent farmers of other countries * ;
but

* It is difficult to form a calculation of the comparative amount of tithe in Ireland and England. There are some data for it in the average rates of English and Irish tithes given by Mr. Young; the amounts per acre for corn are very similar, and therefore Mr. Young says they "afford" "no proof that tithes in Ireland are unreasonably rated." He seems to forget the table of produce he before gave (see page 247). If the produce is much less in Ireland, and that produce much less advantageously obtained, a
similar

but I shall not enter into an invidious recapitulation of the assertions which have been advanced, in which much truth and much misrepresentation have, as is usual upon such occasions, been industriously combined. I rest the question entirely upon *general* principles; and content myself with recapitulating, that tithe in kind, however collected, must in every situation repress and obstruct agriculture; and that it must be peculiarly ruinous where that occupation is struggling

similar acreable rate is certainly a heavier burden in Ireland than England, more especially when we take into account the difference of quality and the different money price of that produce in the two countries. Let us take the article wheat as an instance. If a quarter of English wheat sells for 30s. in England, a quarter of Irish will not be worth 26s. in Ireland. But let us suppose this the proportion :

An English acre yields	3 quarters	at 30s.	£. 4	10	0
An Irish, say - -	$2\frac{1}{4}$	at 26s.	2	18	6

The average wheat tithe of England is 4s. 11d. per acre, that of Ireland 4s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. See Young, page 55.—The Irish peasant, therefore, out of 2l. 18s. 6d. pays 4s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. tithe; the English, out of 4l. 10s. 0d. but 4s. 11d. The average tithe of hay, according to Young, is in England 1s. 10d. in Ireland 2s. 0d.

against

against poverty, oppression and ignorance. Such is its situation in Ireland; and if the skilful, opulent, and independent English farmer finds the tax peculiarly inconvenient, oppressive, and burdensome, with how much greater severity must it gall the poor and ignorant and oppressed peasant of our island?

In the manufacturing parts of Ireland, and particularly in Ulster, the progress of agriculture is considerably injured by every manufacturer being possessed of small portions of land, and acting both as a farmer and artizan. The division of labour, and confining the exertions of workmen to one particular branch of business, as it affords a proof of the considerable progress of any society in opulence and civilization, so it increases the skill and dexterity of the workman in whatever species of labour he is solely employed; and tends to augment his capital more rapidly than can be effected by a varied and desultory attention to a diversity of occupations. A contrary plan diminishes both the productive powers and profits of the artist. "The advantage," says Smith, "which is gained by saving the time commonly lost in passing from one sort of work to another, is much greater

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" than

“ than we should at first view be apt to imagine.
 “ It is impossible to pass very quickly from one
 “ kind of work to another, that is carried on
 “ in a different place, and with quite different
 “ tools. A country weaver, who cultivates a
 “ small farm must lose a good deal of time in
 “ passing from his loom to the field, and from
 “ the field to his loom. A man commonly
 “ faunters a little in turning his hand from one
 “ sort of employment to another ; and this ren-
 “ ders him almost always slothful and lazy, and
 “ incapable of any vigorous application even on
 “ the most pressing occasions.”

The evil consequences of a combination of oc-
 cupations are unfortunately felt in their utmost
 extent in the North of Ireland. The agriculture
 of the country has been particularly and deeply
 injured by its prevalence. Of this stronger
 proofs cannot be given than those contained in
 the observations of Mr. Young. “ View the
 “ North of Ireland ; you there behold a whole
 “ province peopled by weavers : it is they who
 “ cultivate, or rather beggar the soil, as well
 “ as work the looms. Agriculture is there in
 “ ruins ; it is cut up by the roots ; extirpated,
 “ annihilated. The whole region is the disgrace
 “ of

“ of the kingdom. All the crops you see are
 “ contemptible, are nothing but filth and weeds:
 “ no other part of Ireland can exhibit the soil in
 “ such a state of poverty and desolation. But
 “ the cause of all those evils, which are absolute
 “ exceptions to every thing else on the face of
 “ the globe, is easily found. A most prosperous
 “ manufacture, so contrived as to be the de-
 “ struction of agriculture, is certainly a spectacle
 “ for which we must go to Ireland. It is owing
 “ to the fabric spreading over all the country,
 “ instead of being confined to towns;—there,
 “ literally speaking, is not a farmer in a hun-
 “ dred miles of the linen country of Ireland.
 “ The lands are infinitely subdivided; no weaver
 “ thinks of supporting himself by his loom; he
 “ has always a piece of potatoes, a piece of oats,
 “ a patch of flax, and grafs or weeds for a cow;
 “ thus his time is divided between his farm and
 “ his loom.—Where agriculture is in such
 “ a state of ruin, land cannot attain its true va-
 “ lue; and, in fact, the linen counties, propor-
 “ tioned to their soil, are lower let than any
 “ others in Ireland.—If I had an estate in the
 “ South of Ireland, I would as soon introduce
 “ pestilence and famine upon it as the linen

“ manufacture, carried on as it is at present in
 “ the North of that kingdom *.”

Having pointed out the most considerable impediments to the progress of Irish agriculture, we

* In some conversation had with Dr. Burrowes, respecting the injuries which *farming manufacturers* occasion to agriculture, he expressed very strong doubts whether the description given by Mr. Young, and which we have just quoted, was not highly exaggerated. It is but just to inform the reader, that the opinions advanced on this point rest on the authority of Mr. Young *alone*; and that in general our remarks on the Northern parts of this kingdom are derived almost entirely from the information of others. Those on the Southern are more the result of personal observation. The only ground on which the existence of farming manufacturers appears defensible, was at the same time stated by Dr. B. viz. the superior degree of health which such workmen must enjoy, compared with those accustomed to constant confinement; and he mentioned that he had himself lately observed the most striking contrast between the squalid, pale, and sickly artizans of Manchester, and other parts of England, and the robust weavers of Ulster. Whether the injuries ascribed by Smith, Young, and others, to this combination of professions, are counterbalanced by the superior health resulting therefrom, must be left at present to the reader's determination; who will also be, from this note, better enabled than before to appreciate the value due to different remarks on the Northern parts of Ireland, which the text contains.

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are next to investigate the most efficacious modes to be pursued for its advancement and improvement. The most prominent object, in such investigation, must be the removal of those obstructions which we have detailed; in what manner this object can be best attained, is, therefore, first to be examined.

The radical and most efficacious obstruction to the improvement of agriculture in Ireland, is the prevailing and considerable deficiency of capital among the immediate occupiers of the soil. This deficiency will be found, on examination, either immediately or remotely the consequence of the different partial impediments we have above enumerated. The introduction and general diffusion of a greater degree of wealth among the occupying peasantry must form the basis of any solid improvement in their modes of cultivating the earth.

The first and most efficacious step which could be taken towards bettering the situation of the farmer, in this respect, would be a general alteration in the mode of setting him his land. The average rental of Ireland we have shewn, considering the relative improvement of the two coun-

countries, to be considerably higher to the tenant than in England. We have also proved that this arises from the pernicious mode in which lands are let; and it is evident a very considerable portion of the rent thus exacted from the poor goes into the pocket of the middle-man, and is productive of no advantage to the owner of the estate. The proprietors of land, therefore, should solemnly and universally determine never to set to any person but an occupying tenant; they should for ever abolish the ruinous custom of canting lands; they should allow the tenant a reasonable profit, and be content with a reasonable rent; and should never lose sight of the noble idea of tenant-right, which in England has been so religiously attended to, and is so immensely beneficial. I am well aware how difficult it is to eradicate national habits, especially in an instance of this nature, where the revenue of the individual might, from such an alteration, be supposed liable to considerable diminution. But I am equally well convinced, that the more intimately the subject is investigated, the more evident will it appear, that the consideration of private interest, as well as of public advantage, should equally lead the persons concerned to adopt the plan of conduct we have

have recommended ; and that thereby their incomes would be ultimately and securely increased. What is the advantage to the landlord, of allowing a certain portion of his rent to be absorbed by the rapacious middle-man ? The only feasible argument which can be offered in defence of the practice, is, that his rent is better secured by such intervention. But even this supposition is absurd. If arrears be due, to what mode of enforcing payment had the landlord best resort ? to the person of the *gentleman*, who, perhaps, will answer any importunate demands by a challenge or defiance, or to the stock of the occupying peasant ? Surely to the latter ; and to that, in such cases, does he always ultimately recur. But although the proprietor of land should determine to let to none but the occupying tenant, little advantage will accrue to the farmer, if he sets it by auction to the highest bidder, without any attention to the old resident, or without allowing him a reasonable interest in the tenement. An allowance of this nature may, to the short-sighted, appear too great an exertion of self-denial, too considerable a sacrifice of property, to be made from patriotic motives with any degree of prudence. But those who form such conclusions do not look far enough ;

enough; they calculate from the amount of rent, which, by the present mode of setting lands, is extorted from a starving and miserable people, without taking into consideration the increase which might be obtained from them, without either injury or injustice, by persisting in a contrary plan. Allow your tenant a reasonable profit; enable him to accumulate some capital; he will then pursue agriculture on an extensive and advantageous scale; he will necessarily employ it in the occupation to which he has been bred; and consequently improve the land, from which, by your novel but prudent encouragement, he has extracted the means of its improvement. Give him but a comparatively short lease; at its expiration demand a moderate rise of rent; it will be cheerfully granted. Let the increase be equitably proportioned to the improvement of the farm; but let not such improvement be rendered an engine of extortion, or the means of expelling from your possessions the man who has so much contributed to increase their value. By persevering in such a plan of conduct, your estates will in a few years assume a different appearance from that of their present state of desolation; their improvement, and the rent they afford, will equally and considerably increase; and

and you will, at the same time, feel the inexpressible felicity of beholding an opulent, thriving, and comfortably situated tenantry of your own rearing, and reap the solid advantage of increasing, without oppression or extortion, the amount of your annual income. The landlord who allows his occupying tenantry an interest of the nature we speak of, may be considered as laying out yearly a sum equal to the difference between a moderate and a rack rent, which ultimately returns to himself with compound and accumulated profit, and which has, in the meantime, enriched the person entrusted with its management.

The rent of land has, it is true, considerably increased in Ireland, notwithstanding its wretched management, and the ruinous plan pursued in setting it. But this rise has been the consequence of the increased price of its products, not of the improvement of the soil. Had a contrary system been adopted, the augmentation would at this day be much more considerable; it would have increased both by the rise of prices and by improved cultivation.

These conclusions are not the result of mere
abstract

abstract and theoretic speculation. The experiment has been tried ; it has succeeded. In England, from the high state of its cultivation, resulting from the liberal mode of settlement pursued between the proprietor and occupier of the soil, rent, though lower to the tenant, is higher to the landlord than in Ireland ; and, what is of equal consequence, it is securely and punctually paid. A few partial and isolated instances of the same nature have occurred in Ireland ; and, wherever fairly tried, have been successful. Were they universal, their beneficial consequences to both parties would be still more considerable. Mr. Young records a happy instance of this nature in the conduct of Sir William Osborne ; and a similar plan has been pursued by the amiable Sir George Saville. It is related by Dr. Campbell, in his 32d Letter.

From the custom which prevailed formerly all over Ireland, of setting leases of large tracts for ever, or for a long period of years, to middlemen, they have, from the increase of prices, obtained so considerable a profit in the soil, that they may be considered, with respect to inferior tenantry, in the same light as the original proprietors of the estate. Its improvement would

be the immediate interest of such tenants, though of no advantage whatever to those from whom they derive their leases ; and, in letting to the occupying tenantry, they should pursue precisely the same line of conduct which we have recommended to landlords of another description.

Next to the equitable and mutually advantageous mode of agreement between landlord and tenant, which we have just recommended, the most effectual mode of increasing the capital, and improving the husbandry of the latter, is securing a steady and profitable market for his productions. One very efficacious expedient for this purpose, is the erection of flour mills in convenient parts of the country. Many of these, upon an extensive scale, have been built within a few years, and their number is daily increasing.

Whatever may be the defects and disadvantages of the *inland bounty* on flour carried to Dublin (see Young's Tour), it certainly has been so far beneficial as to have occasioned the erection of a number of mills which would otherwise have never been attempted, and of thereby
secur-

securing, and bringing to the farmer's door, a ready market for the chief of his productions. Mr. Young asserts, that this inland bounty has proved very prejudicial to Ireland; that it has diminished its pasturage exports, and introduced and extended a wretched and execrable tillage. However deficient and unskilful the agriculture introduced may be, its very introduction must be considered as a beneficial circumstance: as the capital of the farmer increases, it will improve, and is improving. With respect to the benefit or injury derived to the kingdom at large by the inland bounty, the balance struck by Mr. Young between agricultural and pasturage exports and imports affords no solid ground for any opinion. The nature of the occupation encouraged by this bounty, and the circumstances of those with whom it ultimately rests, the farmers, he leaves entirely out of the question. As to the promotion of employment, the advantage of having agriculture in any way encouraged in preference to pasturage, admits of no doubt. Twenty acres under tillage will afford greater occupation than twenty times twenty grazed by sheep and bullocks.

But the most effectual of all expedients which

have yet been devised for securing a steady and beneficial market to the farmer, is the *bounty on the exportation of corn*. Bounties have been known in Ireland since the reign of Queen Anne, but they were either inadequate, ill contrived, or counteracted. The Irish bounty act, devised by Mr. Foster, and ultimately settled in the year 1784, seems happily calculated to secure a settled demand for the several species of corn, to encourage their growth, and to prevent at all times their high price or scarcity. The beneficial influence of corn bounties has been particularly experienced in Ireland. Not many years since she depended for a sufficient quantity of grain on importation, and was supplied principally by England and America. Its exportation was either ineffectually encouraged, prohibited, or permitted only in a desultory manner by starts and intervals. The consequence was, as in every other similar instance, that the farmer, not being certain of a steady and advantageous market, neglected raising a sufficient supply of so necessary an article, and the country, notwithstanding a considerable import, very frequently experienced considerable want. The bounty has at once produced a certain market for the farmer, increased the average price of some of his pro-

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ducts,

ducts, and secured an abundant supply of corn for home consumption. This must be evident to the most superficial inquirer.

Before the year 1780, though some bounties were granted by 29 Geo. II. and other acts, they were ill devised and ineffectual; and we constantly imported large quantities. In that year the first efficient bounty act took place, and the state of the corn trade for five years, ending Lady-day 1785, was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Value of corn, ground and unground, exported from Lady-day 1780 to Lady-day 1785	705,822	11	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Value of corn, ground and unground, imported during the same period	624,940	12	7
Balance in favour of export	80,881	18	7 $\frac{3}{4}$

In the year 1785, the improved bounty act, passed the preceding year, began to operate. The account of five years, from Lady-day 1785 to Lady-day 1790, is as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Value of corn, ground and unground, exported during these five years	2,204,162	18	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Value			

	£.	s.	d.
Value of the same articles imported during the same period	37,225	7	3
Balance in favour of export	2,166,937	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$

So considerable an increase in production and demand, occasioned both by the bounty on inland carriage to Dublin and on export from every port, must have augmented the profits and general capital of the farmer. Its beneficial operation has, to be sure, been considerably counteracted by the ruinous mode of setting lands, and the other exactions we have mentioned, which are in general too studiously made to keep pace with any such augmentation. Still, however, they have in some degree produced the effect. The agricultural tenantry have in several counties increased in number and in wealth; some little improvement in their modes of tillage is observable; and the system which has produced even the symptoms of such an alteration of circumstances should be studiously adhered to.

The utility of bounties has, I know, been arraigned by many, and especially by so respectable an authority as doctor Smith. I mean not

to question any observations of his on other bounties; but as his authority must necessarily carry great weight, and as I consider the continuation of corn bounties as one of the great means of encouraging agriculture, at least in Ireland, and consequently of effectually promoting the employment of the people, a summary of his objections to them, as far as respects the state of this country, and an examination of their validity, cannot be deemed irrelevant to the question before us.

It is not my intention to enter into a minute investigation of this subject. Many of doctor Smith's arguments have been answered in a satisfactory, and others in a confused manner, by Mr. Anderson, in his *Observations on National Industry*. P. S. to Letter XIII. to which, and doctor Smith's work, Book IV. Chap. V. I refer the reader for a more particular examination of the question. With respect to Ireland, it cannot for a moment be doubted, that the bounty on exporting corn has considerably increased its production, that it has introduced a more regular supply than was before known, and that it has turned a greater number of hands to agriculture than were before employed in it. The most superficial retrospect to the state of the kingdom
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for some years back must afford irrefragable proof of the truth of these assertions. In these respects its beneficial influence has, from experience, been found considerable and extensive.

The most weighty and ingenious objection of doctor Smith to corn bounties we shall give an abridgement of, in his own words. “ That
 “ in the actual state of tillage, the bounty on
 “ exportation necessarily tends to raise the money price of corn in the home market, will
 “ not be disputed by any reasonable person—
 “ the corn bounty, therefore, as well as every
 “ other bounty on exportation, imposes two
 “ different taxes upon the people; first, the tax
 “ which they are obliged to contribute in order to pay the bounty; and, secondly, the tax
 “ which arises from the advanced price of the
 “ commodity in the home market; and as the
 “ whole body of the people are purchasers of
 “ corn, this second tax is by much the heaviest
 “ of the two.—So very heavy a tax upon the
 “ first necessary of life must either reduce the
 “ subsistence of the labouring poor, or occasion
 “ some augmentation in their pecuniary wages,
 “ proportionable to that in the pecuniary price
 “ of their subsistence. So far as it operates in

“ the one way, it must reduce the ability of the
 “ labouring poor to educate and bring up chil-
 “ dren, and must so far tend to restrain the po-
 “ pulation of the country. So far as it operates
 “ in the other, it must reduce the ability of the
 “ employers of the poor to employ so great a
 “ number as they otherwise might do, and must
 “ so far tend to restrain the industry of the coun-
 “ try. The enhancement of the money price of
 “ corn, however, it has been thought, by ren-
 “ dering that commodity more profitable to the
 “ farmer, must necessarily encourage its produc-
 “ tion. I answer, that this might be the case if
 “ the effect of the bounty was to raise the *real*
 “ price of corn, or to enable the farmer with an
 “ equal quantity of it to maintain a greater num-
 “ ber of labourers in the same manner, whe-
 “ ther liberal, moderate, or scanty, that other
 “ labourers are commonly maintained in the
 “ neighbourhood; but neither the bounty, nor
 “ any other human institution, can have any
 “ such effect.—The money price of corn regu-
 “ lates that of all other home made commo-
 “ dities; it regulates the money price of labour
 “ —the money price of all the parts of the rude
 “ produce of land—and, consequently, that of
 “ the materials of almost all manufactures.

“ Though,

“ Though, in consequence of the bounty, there-
 “ fore, the farmer should be enabled to sell his
 “ corn for four shillings the bushel, instead of
 “ three and sixpence, and to pay his landlord
 “ a money rent proportional to this rise in the
 “ money price of his produce; yet, if in con-
 “ sequence of this rise in the money price of
 “ his corn, four shillings will purchase no more
 “ home-made goods of any other kind than
 “ three and sixpence would have done before,
 “ neither the circumstances of the farmer, nor
 “ those of the landlord, will be much mended
 “ by the change.”

In considering the validity of this objection,
 two circumstances are to be principally consider-
 ed; first, Does the bounty on the exportation of
 corn enhance its price in the home market? and,
 secondly, Does such enhancement produce all
 the evil consequences attributed to it?—The na-
 tural tendency of any bounty on exportation is
 confessedly to raise the home price of the article
 exported. It is not easy to imagine how the
 bounty on corn would, in this respect, operate
 differently from that on any other article, except
 by giving rise to a greater production. Certain,
 however, it is, that since the institution of boun-

ties the average price of corn has fallen in England. This doctor Smith supposes has happened *in spite* of the bounty ; but his reasoning on this head is far from satisfactory. In Ireland, the same event has in some measure taken place. The price of wheat last year, notwithstanding the very considerable export, was much more moderate than for many preceding seasons. The operation of the Irish bounty on oats has been different ; it has nearly doubled its price in a few years ; and for reasons to be hereafter stated, I consider such rise as a favourable circumstance. But even allowing the exportation bounty increases somewhat the average price of all kinds of corn, any inconvenience resulting from such rise is more than compensated by its producing a regular and steady supply of the home market, and preventing the opposite evils of profuse abundance or alarming scarcity. Doctor Smith supposes that bounties do not produce even this effect, but on the contrary, that by forcing an exportation they prevent the superabundance of one season from relieving the scarcity of another. His objections on this ground, however, have been very fully answered by Mr. Anderson. Bounties, so far from occasioning, have proved the most effectual means of preventing scarcity. A retro-
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spect to the history of scarce years, and embargoes, will prove this very fully : and Mr. Anderson very well illustrates their mode of operation in this way, as follows :

“ Let us suppose that the greatest variation in
 “ the total amount of the crop between a year
 “ of the greatest plenty and one of the greatest
 “ scarcity, amounts to *one-fourth* of the whole
 “ crop. Let us again suppose that the ordinary
 “ and constant export did, in years of medium
 “ plenty, amount to *one-eighth* of the whole produce, the farmer would in this case be in the
 “ constant practice of rearing *one-eighth* more
 “ grain than supplied the inhabitants in ordinary
 “ years ; so that when the crop, through the
 “ unfavourableness of the seasons, fell short of
 “ its ordinary quantity *one-eighth* part, there
 “ would still be enough in the country to supply the internal demand, as *the eighth* part of
 “ it that was destined for exportation would
 “ exactly supply the deficiency. No importation
 “ would, therefore, be needed in this case. But
 “ if, instead of *one-eighth* or one-sixteenth, the
 “ usual quantity exported should have amounted to *one-fourth* of the whole crop in ordinary
 “ years, it would follow, that in the greatest
 “ scarcity

“ scarcity that could ever happen from bad seasons, there would still remain *one-eighth* for exportation, after the deficiency occasioned by the bad crop was fully supplied.—So far, therefore, is the exportation occasioned by the bounty from hindering the plenty of one year from relieving the scarcity of another, as Dr. Smith supposes, that it is, perhaps, the only method which can be devised for effecting that purpose with any degree of laudable œconomy.—As to the supposition, that farmers would ever be induced to rear more grain than was necessary for supplying the demand in years of tolerable plenty, and that they would make a common practice of retaining the surplus quantity in their possession till a year of scarcity should come, I frankly own that the idea of it appears to me extravagantly absurd.”—

But even supposing, with doctor Smith, that bounties do in general considerably raise the money price of corn, and of consequence the wages of labour and price of all manufactured produce; his reasonings, though deserving considerable attention in other countries, are not by any means applicable to the present state of Ireland. The fundamental position on which all his
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conclusions are founded, is, that corn, being the principal universal article of subsistence, is that whose price must regulate that of every other article of production or manufacture. Mr. Anderson assigns many reasons for supposing this is by no means universally the case; it certainly is not in Ireland. By far the most material article of subsistence among the great mass of the community here, especially among the agricultural peasantry, is the potatoe. Corn they consume little of, and, among us, it, therefore, cannot be that regulating article which doctor Smith supposes it in every instance. It is here to be considered in the same light as rape, or any other article for export, produced by the farmer. Nay, further, the steady and advanced price, and the consequent increased cultivation and export of corn, occasioned by bounties, instead of enhancing the value of the prevailing articles of subsistence, potatoes, renders them both more plentiful and cheaper than they were before the bounty took place, or than they would be in case it were abolished. For potatoes are very generally the meliorating crop first employed in breaking up the soil and preparing it for the production of every species of corn. The export bounty, therefore, as being at least with respect to Ireland, free from the inconveniencies

conveniencies which have been attributed to it, as tending to increase the profits, and consequently augment the capital of the farmer, as encouraging the cultivation of the earth, and as diminishing the pernicious prevalence of pasturage, we hesitate not to pronounce one of the most effectual expedients which can be devised for removing many impediments to, and extending the prosecution of agriculture, and consequently of efficaciously and beneficially promoting the general employment of the people.

Next to the bounty on the exportation of corn, which has been tried with so much increasing success, perhaps there is no measure which would more effectually promote the agriculture of Ireland than an alteration in the mode of paying the salaries of the clergy.

I shall not offer any additional arguments in support of those already advanced, to prove that tithe is a tax pernicious, impolitic, and oppressive. Its injuries are too glaring, and have been too uniformly felt and acknowledged to require more minute proof, or to demand a more particular answer to each flimsy argument advanced in its favour; and I cannot bring myself to think,

think, that it is not in the power of human ingenuity to devise a less exceptionable mode of raising a fund necessary for the maintenance of the ministers of religion. I am aware that any alteration in the mode of levying the ecclesiastical establishment has, by many of the clergy, been deemed dangerous; and that any proposal to that effect may be supposed to proceed from an enemy to their order. But if the matter be properly considered, it will appear very evident, that the clergy should be more anxious than any other description of people to promote an alteration so anxiously desired. I accuse them not of exaction; I charge them not as an enemy; I speak to them as a friend; and I think there are considerations which press with peculiar force upon the ministers of the gospel, and should render them especially desirous for the abolition of this tax. What can be in itself more improper, what more distressing to a feeling and a religious man, than to be forced to receive his subsistence in a great measure, from a class of people whose industry is their only support, and to many of whom, in this country, he renders not any benefit to entitle him to a participation in the hard-earned fruits of their labour and fatigue? What more disagreeable than to receive

this subsistence by scanty and remote payments, to obtain even which he is frequently obliged to have recourse to means which nothing but necessity could excuse to his own heart, and which involve him in feuds and contentions with those whose amity and good-will he ought and must be desirous to cultivate? I speak not of the alternative of a tithe-farmer—to adopt the practice would in general but increase the difficulties of the parishioner, and, consequently, I should hope, the uneasiness of the pastor; and where a clergyman does not set his tithes thus, is it fit, I will ask, that he should devote so large a portion of his time, as the viewing and setting of his parish will necessarily require, to such employments? Can such occupations be pleasing to a gentleman, to a man of liberal education, and refined taste? Is it fit *that*, by a seeming mercenary attention to sums, which, though trivial in themselves are necessary to his support, he should be obliged to run the risk of being accounted unfeeling and avaricious, by those whose good opinion he should be studious to merit and obtain? May not the habit of attending to petty bargains, and counteracting the artifices and sleights employed by the farmer, to lessen a tax he thinks it a hardship to pay at all; may not the vex-

ations which must occur in the course of such transactions, and the quarrels and litigations which ensue, narrow the soul, and weaken or exclude the affections, that dignify human nature, and should glow with uncommon fervour in the breast of the Christian divine?

These, and other considerations we have advanced, have at length opened the eyes of many of the clergy themselves, as to their real interests, and induced them to wish for some alteration in the mode of collecting their stipends. I never spoke on the subject to any liberal-minded and well-informed individual of the profession who was not a strenuous advocate for a radical alteration of the system. The public and severe reprobation of tithes, contained in the moral philosophy of the venerable archdeacon Paley, are a proof of the sentiments of the most enlightened of the clergy respecting this institution, and should carry considerable weight with those still desirous of adhering to so ruinous an institution.

It has been asserted, that the abolition of tithe would be productive of no essential service to the occupying tenantry of this kingdom, as their landlords would raise their rents in proportion to the
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the amount of such exemption. That rents would be raised is to be expected; that they would not be raised to the full amount of the value of tithes at present levied, I am certain. A tenant would never agree *a priori* to pay in a round sum an addition to rent equal to what is extracted from him for different articles of his produce, from a desire of avoiding the disagreeable interference of others in the collection and management of his crops, and from a variety of other motives. But even allowing rents were raised to the full amount of rent and tithe, as at present collected, still the alteration would be attended with material advantages. The tax would then be stable and certain, and no longer variable, and proportioned to the labour and skill, the improvement and industry of the farmer; evils the most pernicious of any attendant on this eminently destructive system.

It has been presumptuously asserted, that no alteration in the mode of collecting their revenue could be devised, which would not be attended with material disadvantage to the clergy, and particularly that in no other way could their salaries be always augmented, in fair proportion to the rising wealth and improvement of the country.

country. I shall not here enter into the respective merits of the many plans for such alteration which have, within a few years, been offered to the public. I am confident it would be easy to devise a mode free from the very many inconveniencies of the present, and even more beneficial to the clergy themselves.

In the dominions of the king of Prussia, and in Bohemia, Sardinia, and the Milanese, a land tax is assessed according to an actual valuation of the ground, which varies its amount according to the rise and fall of the value of land, by the latter undergoing a valuation at particular periods. It appears extremely possible to devise, on similar principles, a mode of collecting a church revenue, equivalent to that at present produced by tithe, free from its inconveniencies, and so calculated as to increase with the rising prosperity of the country. It is not the object of the present Essay to enter into a particular discussion of this subject, else we think it might be shewn, that such a plan could be carried into execution with greater facility, and less expence, than might at first view be imagined, and that it would be attended with considerable advantages to all parties concerned. Oppressive as

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the tax, in its present form, confessedly is, were the whole of its amount calculated, and levied upon all lands, without distinction, whether pastured or tilled, according to their value, which might be determined by parish juries, the acreable assessment of the whole kingdom would be very light, and even if paid by the landlords, would be ultimately of considerable advantage to them. "The tithe," says Smith, "where there is no modus, and where it is levied in kind, diminishes more what would otherwise be the rent of the landlord, than a land tax which really amounted to five shillings in the pound." By a system of this nature, the destructive impediments to agriculture resulting from tithe would be removed; the iniquitous inequality occasioned by the vote of agistment corrected; and the maintenance of the ministry of the gospel no longer prove the source of oppression to the people, of poverty to the nation, and of feuds, contention, and litigation between those who should be united in the bonds of amity, harmony and peace.

Grazing we have shewn to be a very destructive impediment to the progress of agriculture, and there is none which more effectually obstructs

structs the employment of a people. The diminution of its prevalence, therefore, becomes an important object. To attempt effecting this by prohibitory statutes would be an arbitrary, unjust, and ineffectual measure. Of this we have an instance in the history of English grazing. In the reign of Henry VII. pasturage was so generally prevalent, and the evils arising from it so evident, that he enacted a statute against it. Yet the mischiefs continued to increase so considerably, that Henry VIII. to check its progress, carried the penal clauses former statutes contained into execution. The decay of tillage, and increase of pasturage, however, became so universal, and the evils felt by the people from the latter so grievous, that they absolutely rose in rebellion in the reign of Edward VI. destroying the property and punishing the persons of the obnoxious. A commission was appointed to inquire into the cause of these riots; and their report was, that they were occasioned by converting arable into pasturage grounds; so that where twenty or two hundred people formerly lived, nothing was then to be seen but sheep and bullocks. Further steps were taken to prohibit these practices, and something more was attempt-

ed in the reign of Elizabeth, but little or nothing accomplished.

The most effectual and unobjectionable mode, perhaps, to check and discourage grazing, is to promote and encourage agriculture. When it is evident that the profits of the latter are much superior to those which can be acquired by the former, it will attract the stock and attention of the grazier, in spite of habitual predilection and long confirmed indolence. The export bounty, therefore, by securing and increasing the profits of tillage, seems happily calculated to diminish grazing, and it has in fact already produced that effect;—many tracts of ground, not long since destined for fattening, have been lately turned up, and the practice is daily spreading. Still it is extraordinary that few possessed of capital are seen to employ it in the prosecution of improved, scientific, and extensive agriculture. Although tillage has increased, especially in Munster, considerably, it is still carried on, as usual, in the old destructive mode, and by persons possessed of neither capital or skill. This appears in a great degree the consequence of ignorance as to the improved practice of agriculture,

culture, and of the profits which result from it. If we can pay any attention to agricultural calculators, and even if we make large deductions from the profits which they state to arise from particular branches of skilful tillage, it should attract more capital than it yet has done in our island. But even the present alteration from pasturage to tillage must be considered as extremely beneficial. The capital of the farming part of the nation is daily increasing; their skill will increase with it, and ultimately arrive at some degree of perfection; and, at any rate, the employment of the people has been, even already, promoted by the change.

Another circumstance, which would tend considerably to diminish pasturage, would be the equable assessment of the church revenue on all lands in proportion to their value. The present mode of collecting it, and the exemption of pasturage grounds from any share of the load, operates as a tax on tillage and bounty on grazing. The mode of collection we have hinted at would completely annihilate this inequality; and, as grazing grounds are in general the richest and most valuable in the kingdom, they would very justly bear a considerable share of that

burden which at present oppresses agriculture alone.

We have mentioned another impediment to the extension and improvement of tillage, which exists principally in Ulster, and which should be seriously attended to, viz. the multitude of farming weavers, or weaving farmers, which overspread the country. A more effectual mode cannot, perhaps, be devised than that recommended by Mr. Young, who was so sensible of the injuries they occasion to agriculture. “ The
 “ landlords of the country might, with no great
 “ difficulty, effect the change: let them steadily
 “ refuse to let an acre of land to any man that
 “ has a loom. The business would and ought
 “ to be gradual; but farms should be thrown
 “ by degrees into the hands of real farmers, and
 “ the weavers driven into towns, where a cabbage-garden should be the utmost space of
 “ their land. All encouragement, all attention,
 “ all bounty, all premium, all reward, should
 “ go to those alone who lived by and attended
 “ to their looms, not in a separated cabin, but
 “ in a street;—and if, contrary to common
 “ sense, a paltry board is permitted to exist,
 “ by way of promoting a fabric of two mil-
 lions

“ lions a year, let them have this object, and
 “ this only, for their business. Let them devise
 “ the means of inducing landlords to drive their
 “ weavers into towns, and they will in a few
 “ years do more good to their country than all
 “ their inspectors, itinerant men, and spinning-
 “ wheels, will do in a century *.”

Such are the principal obstructions which impede the agriculture of Ireland, and such appear the most efficacious measures which can be adopted for their correction or removal, and the consequent promotion of the employment of the people. So great is the native and intrinsic vigour of the occupation, that it would require little other aid than freeing it from the difficulties with which it has been encumbered. Still, however, it may be promoted, not only by the removal of these obstructions and impediments, but by direct encouragement. Let us examine what measures of this nature had best be pursued.

In the consideration of this subject, the Dublin Society naturally take the lead. Backward

* See Note, page 232.

as the agriculture of Ireland is, this justly celebrated body have not a little contributed to advance it, even to its present state. Their premiums have introduced many beneficial modes of husbandry, which, though not generally followed, are increasing, and will gradually become prevalent without the extraordinary aid of bounty. From their long attention, they may naturally be supposed better acquainted with the best modes of promoting the interests of the kingdom at large than any individual; yet a few general observations on the line of conduct they had best pursue may not be deemed impertinent. The Society, as their charter expresses, were instituted for the purpose of promoting agriculture. To this important object their attention should ever be principally directed. It cannot, however, escape observation, that they some years back did deviate more and more from the original design, paying particular attention to and making many strong attempts at forcing different manufactures. Little, however, has in this way been effected; and it will tend more to the advantage of the kingdom if the original intention of the institution be principally kept in view, and the greatest proportion of their funds employed in the encouragement of agriculture.

Many

Many of the premiums proposed and paid by the Society are very judiciously devised ; yet one idea they have adopted should be more generally attended to and practised than yet appears to be the case. I mean distributing many small premiums among the poor, instead of a few considerable ones among the gentlemen farmers. Any general or considerable advances in agriculture are never to be expected, except from a numerous, substantial, skilful, and independent yeomanry. Those can only be raised from the present poor, oppressed, and ignorant, though improving peasantry of our island. To them, therefore, should all encouragement be principally and skilfully directed. A number of small premiums, properly and constantly distributed among them, would increase both their capital and skill, and excite them to improvements at present utterly neglected. A few premiums to a large amount, given to a few gentlemen, for considerable exertions which require a large capital, no doubt, cut a striking figure when related, and have their use, nor should they entirely be deserted ; but such exertions are very frequently the effect of the whim and caprice of the moment, or the desire of distinction ; they are usually desultory, and lead to no very general, stable, or systematic improve

improvement in our agriculture. A perseverance in a contrary plan, though less brilliant in appearance, will ultimately be much more beneficial, and lead to more generally diffused, and more solid advantages.

Not only the division, but the nature of the premiums proposed, would seem to require some alteration. The implements and materials of improvement should be given as rewards. Ploughs and harrows, and horse-hoes, and hoe-ploughs, and a variety of other machines, might be distributed, and their employment encouraged. Premiums are sometimes offered for the culture of different articles, the very seed of which the poor Irish peasant is not able to purchase. An instance occurs in clover; a premium per acre has been held out for its cultivation, to be paid the subsequent year; but how can the poor farmer pay five or fifteen pounds in the spring season for clover seed, and remain out of it for twelve months, even though certain of obtaining the premium? If you wish to be useful, give the seed to any who apply for it, on proof of their intention to claim the premium, and pursue the mode of cultivation recommended; let a bounty be superadded, to the most successful, and let
a ware-

a warehouse, for these and similar purposes, be opened in each county. Innumerable instances of this nature might be pointed out; but they must inevitably strike the good sense of the Society, if they only adhere to the principle of improving the occupying peasantry, and of adapting their premiums to the skill, situation, and circumstances of those whom it should be their principal object to assist and enlighten.

County societies, for the improvement and encouragement of agriculture, might be easily instituted, with considerable benefit. The men of landed property would ultimately find it considerably to their advantage to promote such institutions, and to distribute annually, from a small fund, which might easily be collected, such premiums as they should deem most calculated for improving and assisting their tenantry. Scotland affords, in some degree, an example of this nature; premiums to the most skilful ploughmen are adjudged and distributed annually in several parts of that kingdom. The plan might easily be improved upon, and the trifling subscriptions necessary to carry it into execution would surely be more advantageously and rationally laid out than in plates to racers or contributions to hunting clubs.

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Another measure for promoting the agriculture of the kingdom would be the encouraging the cultivation of barren lands. Such should at least be tithe free for a certain number of years : and it is surprising the clergy should oppose an exemption which must ultimately prove advantageous to themselves *. Parliament should also attend to this subject ; some of the considerable sums expended on bounties to manufactures, or still more interested private jobs, would be much more advantageously directed in this channel.

* Barren lands are, by an act passed this session, made the free for seven years after their first cultivation.

§ II. MANUFACTURES.

Reference to principles establishea in Part I.—

Linen manufacture—Defects in the mode of conducting it—Pecuniary assistance afforded to it disproportionate and unnecessary—Absurdity of endeavouring to extend it all over the kingdom—Causes of our deficiency in other manufactures—Want of capital—Commercial restraints under which we laboured for many years—Historical sketch of these restraints—On the woollen manufacture—Injustice of them—Examination of the compact—Similar restraints imposed on other manufactures—Injuries they occasioned to our manufactures—Other bad effects resulting from them—Their removal—Expectations formed upon this event—Why were not manufactures immediately established and improved—Consideration of the applicability of the usual expedients for improving manufactures—1. Free exportation—2. Bounties; Objections to them—3. Prohibiting the importation of manufactures—Impolicy of this measure—Advantages of the home manufacturer—These advantages sufficiently great—And other objection to protecting duties—No exception against the general impolicy of such measures exists in

Ireland—They should, therefore, be rejected—4. Prohibiting the exportation of materials—Wool—No alteration in the regulations as to its export necessary—5. Prohibiting the exportation of materials in any stage of manufacture short of the last—Yarn—Impolicy of restraining its export—Importance of the manufacture of linen yarn—Importance of the manufacture of woollen yarn—Reduction of interest—Advice to manufacturers—Present state of Irish manufactures—Woollen manufacture—Cotton manufacture—Glass manufacture—Paper manufacture—Silk manufacture—Conclusion.

§ II. MANUFACTURES.

NEXT to agriculture, manufactures are the most important object of attention in any country, and the most fertile source of employment. It would be needless to enter into any calculation of the numbers which, in those countries where manufactures flourish, are variously occupied in them. The multitudes to which they afford employment, and their very great importance to any state, are too evident, and too universally admitted, to require either proof or illustration. We are here principally to consider the most advisable modes of increasing and extending the manufactures of Ireland, and, consequently, of providing employment for her people.

It is unnecessary here to recapitulate the modes recommended by the agricultural system of political œconomy, for introducing and extending manufactures in any country, which have gained so great a degree of approbation from the deepest political writers. An abridgement of them will be found in the first part of this Essay, and a
more

more minute account in the works to which we have there referred. But although the means which this system recommends should always be held in view, and pursued as far as prudence will admit, they cannot be implicitly followed in the present state of European nations, involved, as they are, in a labyrinth of monopolies, bounties and prohibitions. Keeping a steady eye upon them, however, and at the same time considering those more usually adopted, and the relative situation of Ireland, as to external connection, we shall investigate the best means of introducing new, and extending her old manufactures.

The linen manufacture of Ireland is the foremost object of the present article, and is, indeed, almost the only branch of which she has been for many years possessed. It has received the particular attention and assistance of Parliament, through the medium of the board of trustees, who first met in the year 1711, and whose exertions in its favour have been unremitting ever since. The manufacture has flourished, and is flourishing to such a degree, that any observations respecting the best modes of further encouragement may be deemed superfluous. The
proofs

proofs are already in the hands of the public. The exportation has progressively and considerably increased, and the proportionate importation of the primum, and its seed, have diminished. The tables which afford the most conclusive proof of these assertions may be easily obtained, and need not here be recapitulated.

Notwithstanding, however, the flourishing state of the manufacture, the mode of conducting and extending it does not appear altogether free from faults. The very destructive practice of allowing the weavers to spread over the country, and to attend to two occupations at a time, has been already noticed; and the impediments it occasions to agriculture pointed out. For the reasons there assigned, the manufacture itself must be injured by it; and would, consequently, be served, as well as the agricultural, and general interests of the country, by drawing them into towns, and confining their exertions to one particular branch of business. The means of doing so have been already stated.

It cannot escape observation, that the linen manufacture has been supported and extended at a very considerable expence to the nation.

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The duties appropriated to this purpose, and the bounties paid by Parliament, have amounted to between thirty and forty thousand pounds per annum. Although such extraordinary encouragement may be requisite to an infant and struggling manufacture, it can scarcely at present be necessary to one so long and so firmly established as that of linen in Ireland. All great manufactures, as those of wool and hardware in England, and of silk in France, require and enjoy no such extraordinary aid. Demand is all that is necessary to render them flourishing: that demand Ireland is eminently in possession of, and I am satisfied that, if the immense sums we have mentioned were at present withdrawn, and directed in more necessary channels, the manufacture would flourish, and prove as beneficial as ever to the nation.

Another erroneous idea respecting the linen manufacture is, that of the necessity and utility of forcing its extension all over the kingdom. This is absurd. It is well observed by the author of 'The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered,' "That no populous and commercial country can subsist on *one* manufacture. "If the world ever produced such an instance,"

says

says he, "I have not been able to find it." The endeavours of the board to extend this manufacture to the southern provinces have been ineffectual. The want of capital, and other circumstances, have rendered of no effect all the temptation of bounties and premiums. Capital, however, is increasing. Let those possessed of it employ it in the manufactures they find most likely to prove advantageous. Let Parliament, if they please, encourage their infant exertions; but let them not persist in the pernicious plan of endeavouring to turn every manufacturing hand in the kingdom to the linen loom.

If we except that of linen, Ireland possesses, as yet, no manufacture of any very considerable extent or importance. One principal cause of this deficiency has been the prevailing want of capital; many sources of which we have already traced, and whose deleterious consequences in other instances we have before had occasion to lament. This want of capital is one of the most powerful obstacles to the establishment or improvement of manufactures they can possibly encounter. The Scotch, though possessed of very good wool, and enjoying all the advantages of English manufacturers, cannot work it up for

want of capital (see Smith and Anderfon). The want of capital has ever been felt in this kingdom. Inconsiderable as were the little foreign trade and manufactures carried on in 1672, nearly half the stock which supported them belonged, according to Sir William Petty, to foreigners. At another period, Lord Strafford says, the whole trade of the kingdom was carried on by Dutch capitals; and, at present, a considerable portion of the capital which supports business is English. To divert a greater proportion of the general wealth of the country, amassed in the hands of individuals, and employed by them, either in loans, the funds, or totally unemployed, towards manufactures and trade, the Parliament of Ireland have, by a statute, permitted any person to invest a certain portion of his property in company with others in any branch of business, without subjecting the remaining part to the claims of any creditors of the partnership, or to the operation of the bankrupt laws; with the proviso, that the sum so appropriated to business be publicly registered. This exemption has, no doubt, prompted many to employ some portion of their capital in manufactures and trade, which would not otherwise be so directed; but still it cannot, in any very considerable degree,

gree, diminish the general national deficiency of capital.

The augmentation of this capital, as well as the establishment or advancement of any other manufacture, save that of linen only, was effectually prevented for a series of years, by the restraints, equally unjust and impolitic, under which our island laboured till within a very short period. A *brief* sketch of the origin and operation of these restraints cannot be deemed foreign to the subject before us; this we shall first delineate. We shall afterwards inquire, why the relaxation of them has not as yet given rise to any very important or extensive fabric: we shall next investigate the best modes to be pursued for extending and improving the manufactures of the kingdom; and conclude with an examination of their present state.

The blind and selfish spirit of commercial jealousy, which frequently outwits itself, and ultimately injures those interests it is desirous of solely aggrandizing, has been the parent of those restrictions on the industry of Ireland, whose baneful influence was so long felt, and which, after their extinction, is even still protracted. However Ireland might have been injured in

other respects, the promotion of her manufactures appears to have been as much an object with the English government, as that of their own, from the period of first enacting any statutes respecting them, to the year 1663. The statute-book is replete with instances of this nature. Whenever any measures are enacted for extending the manufactures of England, Ireland is generally included; and whenever the importation of foreign manufactures is prohibited, there is always an exception in favour of those of Ireland. In the year 1663, the first distinctions commenced, by the prohibition contained in an English act, 15 Cha. II. chap. 7. against the exportation of a variety of articles from Ireland to the Plantations; but the year 1669 may be dated as the commencement of those restraints which, during the subsequent century, depressed or annihilated the manufactures of this country.

The woollen manufacture had been, for many years before this period, established in Ireland; it had been encouraged by a variety of English acts; and although, as might naturally be expected from the poor and disturbed state of the country, the advances in it were, comparatively
speak-

speaking, trivial; still an exportation to some amount had been made, and was daily increasing. A resolution was entered into by the Irish House of Commons in the year 1695, "to appoint a select committee to prepare heads of a bill for the better making and regulating the woollen manufacture of the kingdom." This, and the gradually rising state of the manufacture, alarmed the jealousy of our commercial neighbours; and on the 10th of June 1698, an address was presented by the House of Lords in England to the King, containing a request, that his Majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way that might be, to declare to all his subjects in Ireland, that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there had long, and would ever be looked upon with great jealousy by his subjects of England, and if not timely remedied might occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same." His Majesty's answer was, that he would take care to do what their Lordships desired. An address, in strong terms, was presented by the Commons, on the 30th of the same month; and part of his Majesty's answer thereto was, "I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland."

“land.” The intentions of the English administration were communicated to the governing powers of Ireland; their influence, as it must be confessed has since been too frequently the case, was successfully exerted to prevail on Parliament to adopt measures the most destructive to the interests of their constituents; an act was introduced and passed, laying an additional duty of four shillings for every twenty shillings value of broad cloth exported from Ireland, and two shillings for every twenty shillings value of new drapery, except frizes. This, however, did not satisfy the English, and accordingly a law was passed in England, prohibiting, from the 29th of June 1699, the exportation from Ireland of all goods made of or mixed with wool, except to England and Wales, where duties had been before laid on importation equal to prohibition. By this act, and one or two that followed, a total end was put to the woollen trade of Ireland. Though in its infancy, it was at that period the principal manufacture of the kingdom—it did even then afford employment to many—it would, in its progress, have afforded it to still greater numbers; and, as the nation was in itself possessed of the necessary primum, it was that in which the greatest advances and improve-

improvement were naturally to be expected. The plea, advanced at the time, in extenuation of restrictions so evidently unjust and injurious, was, that the linen manufacture was to be encouraged in and monopolized by Ireland; while the woollen manufacture was, by these and other regulations, to be confined to England. I shall not enter into an examination of the evident injustice of depriving a nation of a manufacture for which they were naturally calculated, and in which they were making advances; and forcing them to adopt another, of which they possessed not the primum, and with which they were comparatively unacquainted. Nor shall I enter into a minute examination of the degree of faith with which Great Britain adhered to the terms of this compact*, as it has been improperly termed.

* The compact has certainly been violated by Great Britain in many particulars. She has prohibited the importation of chequed, striped, printed, painted, stained or dyed linens of the manufacture of Ireland. She has encouraged, by several measures, the linen manufacture in Scotland, and to that degree that 17,074,777 yards were stamped for sale there in 1783. She has laid a duty on sail-cloth imported from Ireland into England, and she has granted bounties on the exportation of British chequed and striped linens, while the terms of the compact disadvantageous to Ireland were rigidly adhered to.

All

All these circumstances have been very well illustrated, in that excellent pamphlet, "The Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered," to which we must refer those desirous of more particular information on this head.

With respect to other manufactures, the same system of depressing all of Irish growth, by preventing exportation, was gradually effected. The English possessions in America and the West Indies were among the best and most natural marts to which we could resort for the disposal of any articles of this nature. But these, by several statutes, were shut against us, while our own markets were laid open to an inundation of English manufactured produce. Other markets, either by particular acts * or less direct expedients, we were prohibited from resorting to ; and, by these devices, domestic consumption was the only source of encouragement left to our artists in every branch of manufacture but one.

A more effectual expedient (if we except only

* The Irish having made some progress in the glass manufacture before the 19th Geo. II. were, by an act passed that year, prevented from exporting to any country, or so much as lading a carriage with it, with intent to export.

direct prohibition) could not, perhaps, be devised for depressing or annihilating the manufactures of a country. Although the home market be, in many instances, the most advantageous and important to manufactures, it is not in all; and freedom of exportation seems indispensably requisite to the advancement of any to a state of perfection. Whether this be owing to that emulation which competition in foreign markets gives birth to, to the increased demand which exportation naturally occasions, or to these combined with a variety of other causes, it is not very material to determine. Experience has sufficiently proved the justice of the conclusion, whatever may be the sources to which we may trace the effect.

Baneful, indeed, were the consequences of these unjustifiable restrictions. The impediments under which agriculture laboured, and which we have already stated, prevented any accumulation of riches by that occupation. The restraints at present under review, effectually deprived the people of the means of any similar acquisitions by manufactures. The two great sources of national wealth being thus completely obstructed, any accumulation of national capital
was

was completely prevented. This deficiency necessarily deprived them of the means of making any advances in either branch of business, of relieving the general poverty under which the kingdom struggled, or of affording employment to the lower and labouring class of the community.

The patience of an oppressed and declining people being at length exhausted, the nation was roused, at a favourable opportunity, to a resistance to that oppression under which, for a century, they had with unexampled patience acquiesced. The Parliament of Ireland, which met the 12th October 1779, in an address to his Majesty, stated, that a free trade alone could save the nation from impending ruin. The House of Lords concurred in similar expressions, and their sentiments were, at least on this occasion, those of the people at large. It is unnecessary to enumerate the different circumstances which at this period concurred to give efficacy to the representations of Parliament; suffice it to say that the English minister deemed it eligible to comply with the demands of the nation, and that bills were, in December 1779, brought into the English Parliament and passed, by which the laws
which

which prohibited the exportation of any woollen manufactures from Ireland to any part of Europe, and those which prohibited the exportation of glafs from Ireland, were repealed ; and the Irish were at the same time permitted to export and import commodities to and from all parts of America and the British colonies in the West India islands and Africa, subject to such regulations as should be *adopted* by her own Parliament. The attainment of these advantages extended the views of the people, and led to the acquisition of others even more important. They considered that as long as England retained the power of making laws to bind this country, the relaxation she had concurred in was a boon revocable at pleasure, and that, as at a former, so at some future period, commercial jealousies might prompt her to retract what she considered, not as a right, but an indulgence. These and other motives more strictly *constitutional* gave rise to the subsequent exertions and demands of the Irish people, which were at length satisfied by the settlement of 1782, when the sole right of Ireland to regulate her commerce, and bind herself in all cases, was fully recognized.

Thus, after the lapse of so many years, were
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the barriers which imprisoned the manufactures of our island at once removed. Great was the exultation, and confident the hopes of the people upon this memorable occasion. An immediate influx of wealth, an instantaneous improvement of circumstances, were predicted and expected. Manufactures were to have started into vigour in every corner of the island, and the magic of the words *Free Trade* was, like the spells of an enchantress, to have dissipated in a moment the enervating effects of a century's debility and disease. The confidence of hope was more than equalled by the mortification of disappointment. The Irish felt not immediately the predicted alteration of circumstances; their manufactures were neither visibly extended nor considerably improved. The sources of this deficiency were not now so obvious as before. It is our business to investigate the causes which have prevented the speedy realization of such sanguine expectations.

These appear neither obscure or extraordinary. Manufactures are necessarily plants of slow growth in the most favourable situations. Even where capital is abundant, and a habit of industry established, it requires time, perseverance,
and

and encouragement, to advance them to any considerable degree of perfection. The circumstances of Ireland in the year 1779, instead of favourable, were adverse to the establishment and improvement of any considerable manufactures. The various oppressions we have already detailed left us, in a considerable degree, destitute of capital, a foundation so absolutely necessary to any institutions of this nature. From causes already explained, an equally essential requisite, the habit of industry, was almost unknown. Skill we possessed little of; and experience we had none. These various preliminary necessities were not in any country to be instantaneously obtained; and, as was before observed, even where a nation is possessed of them, novel manufactures are gradual in their approaches to perfection. How then could any well-grounded expectations of an exception to so general a rule be rationally formed in Ireland, a country destitute of every such advantage? The cool and deliberate reasoner, who consulted the experience of ages, and considered the nature of the improvements alluded to, would have looked forward to a gradual, not confidently expected an instantaneous establishment of flourishing manufactures. The period which has elapsed since the emancipation

pation of our island, has confirmed the justice of such a conclusion. Manufactures have been introduced; their improvement has been slow, but they are silently, gradually, and steadily advancing to the desired acmé of perfection: these advances will be daily more considerable, and, like the motion of a body descending to the earth, acquire an accelerated velocity as they approach the point of destination.

But what are the measures most advisable to be pursued for encouraging and extending the manufactures we have established? Let us examine those which have with such intent been adopted by other nations, and determine which are applicable or inapplicable to our situation.

The expedients which nations have had recourse to, for encouraging and extending their manufactures, may be arranged under the following heads—1. Permitting a free and unrestrained exportation of goods manufactured. 2. *Encouraging* this exportation by bounties. 3. Prohibiting the importation of any such manufactures from other countries. 4. Prohibiting the exportation of the primum of which they are composed. And, 5. Prohibiting the exportation of that

that primum in any stage of manufacture short of the last. These we shall consider in order.

The necessity of a free exportation to the encouragement of manufactures we have already noticed; it has been universally acknowledged, and such exportation has been permitted in every country where the advancement of manufactures engages the smallest concern of the government. Since the settlement of 1779, Ireland enjoys a free exportation for all her manufactures to every market in Europe, Africa, and the New World, as far as the respective institutions of the different nations admit. From any export to the East Indies she is cut off, by the compliance of her own legislature with the wishes of England; nor does a distant and very expensive commerce of this nature appear, it must be confessed, well suited to her present state of capital*. The regulations of many states prevent the free importation of the foreign manufactures of all countries in order to encourage their own. These we must unavoidably submit to, unless some expedient

* By an act passed this last session, Ireland is admitted to a participation of the monopoly of the East India Company.

can be devised to persuade them to open their markets to us. From none are we so completely excluded by institutions of this nature as from those of Great Britain, in almost every article except that of linen; while our markets are laid open to every manufacture of theirs. Whether any steps can be with prudence taken to exclude them from our markets, or to effect an equal liberty of import and export between both kingdoms, we shall hereafter inquire.

A free and unlimited exportation has not been deemed sufficient to encourage manufactures. Government in different countries have been in the practice of granting bounties on the exportation of manufactured produce; and thereby attracting a greater number of hands to particular branches of industry than they would naturally have engaged, and enabling them to sell their manufactures at a cheaper rate in foreign markets than they could otherwise afford. The linen manufacture is almost the only one which has obtained the encouragement of a bounty on exportation in Ireland, and that at a very considerable annual expence to the nation.

The utility of all bounties has been arraigned
by

by doctor Smith. We have attempted to shew, that that on the exportation of corn is, for particular reasons, advantageous to Ireland. His objections to bounties on manufactures appear much more applicable to our situation, and scarcely liable to refutation. "Bounties upon
 " the exportation of any home-made commodity
 " are liable first to that general objection which
 " may be made to all expedients of the mercantile system, the objection of forcing some part
 " of the industry of a country into a channel
 " *less* advantageous than that in which it would
 " run of its own accord; and, secondly, to the
 " particular objection of forcing it, not only into
 " a channel that is *less* advantageous, but into
 " one which is actually *disadvantageous*; the
 " trade which *cannot* be carried on but by means
 " of a bounty, being *necessarily a losing* trade." For, "bounties, it is allowed, ought to be given
 " to those branches of trade *only* which cannot
 " be carried on without them. But every branch
 " of trade in which the merchant can sell his
 " goods for a price which replaces to him, with
 " the ordinary profits of stock, the whole capital
 " employed in preparing and sending them to
 " market, *can* be carried on without a bounty.
 " Those trades only require bounties in which

“ the merchant is obliged to sell his goods for
 “ a price which does not replace to him his ca-
 “ pital, together with the ordinary profit, or in
 “ which he is obliged to sell them for less than
 “ it really costs him to send them to market.
 “ Such a trade, therefore, necessarily eats up in
 “ every operation a part of the capital employed
 “ in it; and is of such a nature, that if all other
 “ trades resembled it, there would soon be no
 “ capital left in the country.”

The principles here advanced are perfectly
 clear. If a manufacture can be carried on with-
 out the aid of bounty, no bounty should be
 granted. If it cannot be carried on without such
 assistance, it is necessarily a losing business, and
 should not be encouraged. It diminishes, instead
 of augmenting, the general capital and stock of
 society, the general fund for the employment of
 its people. The augmentation of that capital
 should be the principal end and aim of the people
 of Ireland; and would be the most certain and
 effectual mode of establishing and extending ma-
 nufactures among them. The legislature, there-
 fore, should withstand all attempts to obtain new
 bounties on the exportation of manufactures, or
 at least grant them to infant establishments of this
 nature

nature with extreme caution. Such attempts will certainly be made, and if any are to be granted, let them be taken from the very considerable sum which has been so long destined for the linen manufacture only. It would not, perhaps, be advisable *at once* to deprive the linen manufacture of this encouragement; but, I think, a great part may with perfect safety be gradually withdrawn, and applied to more useful and necessary purposes.

The encouragement which manufacturers are always most clamorous to obtain, and which they have in general been most successful in obtaining, is the monopoly of the home-market of the country in which they are established. This is secured to them by loading with high duties, or absolutely prohibiting the importation of such goods from foreign countries as they are engaged in manufacturing. Many strong, and sometimes outrageous attempts have been made in Ireland to obtain a similar monopoly, by what were termed *Protecting Duties*, but hitherto without effect. The influence of the English government in our councils has, perhaps, tended not a little to prevent such requisitions from being granted.

The propriety and utility of granting a monopoly of the home-market to the manufacturers of any country, by loading with heavy duties, or absolutely prohibiting, importation from abroad, has, in a former part of this Essay, been already pretty fully discussed, (see page 99.) And from considering the general tendency of the opinions there advanced, it will appear pretty evident, that the importance of the relative interests of a people at large, and of a few interested manufacturers, are to be weighed and appreciated, before any such restraints can with propriety be imposed. The observations alluded to have, in a great measure, anticipated any which could be offered at present; and the objections stated to the adoption of such a plan, under any circumstances, seem peculiarly applicable to the Irish people. By recurring to the passage quoted, it will be found that the direct tendency of all regulations of this nature is, to diminish the general capital of a nation in proportion to the difference of the annual amount between the price of the domestic and foreign manufactures in question. Deficiency of capital, however, is the principal obstruction to the establishment and improvement of manufactures, and every other source of employment in Ireland. Those regulations,

lations, therefore, which directly tend to the diminution of that capital, cannot be the best calculated to establish and extend them. Want of skill is another cause of the unimproved state of our different fabrics; but the regulations in question would not, in our opinion, produce in Ireland the secondary advantage of augmenting that skill, or of improving the texture and value, and consequently increasing the exportation of the manufacture so favoured. The manufacturers of our island, it is to be lamented, possess no very great share of that spirit of emulation which conduces so much to the perfection of any fabric. The monopoly of the home-market being secured would necessarily prevent any competition, and would deaden whatever portion of emulation they are actuated by; and as the inhabitants of the country must necessarily buy whatever the manufacturers offer for sale, and at whatever price they please to impose on it, their respective fabrics, until some competition arise among themselves, would probably be less valuable than even at present, and their sale in foreign markets be consequently either diminished or annihilated.

The advantage of disposing of his goods, without any expence of freight, commission, insur-

ance, duties, and a variety of other charges, is so considerable, that it will always secure the home market to the domestic, against the foreign manufacturer, if there be any approach to equality in the respective value of their several fabrics. The only country permitted to dispute the home-market with the Irish manufacturer is Great Britain. Almost all manufactured produce imported thence into this country is subject to low duties, and the different articles are, besides, liable to the expence of carriage from the manufactories to the sea-port towns, and of freight, insurance, commission, port-duties, &c. from thence into Ireland. The duties vary on different articles. The following table of some of them will shew that the home-market is, to no inconsiderable degree, already secured to the Irish manufacturer.

From Great Britain.

	£.	s.	d.
Beer, per barrel, 32 gallons -	—	4	3 ¹ / ₂
Bottles, per dozen -	—	—	3 ¹ / ₂
Buttons, per cent. -	10	10	—
Cotton manufactures, per cent -	10	10	—
Callicoes, per yard -	—	1	— ¹ / ₂

Drapery

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Drapery, new, per yard	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
——, old, per yard	—	—	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Earthenware, per cent.	15	15	—

Hardware, the duties vary on the
different articles.

Lawns, ornamented, per cent.	10	10	—
Muslin, foreign, per yard	—	1	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
British, per yard	—	—	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Paper, post, per cent.	10	10	—
Plated goods, per cent.	10	10	—
Stockings, cotton or thread, per cent.	10	10	—
——, worsted, per pair	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

To these duties are to be added the expence
of freight, commission, insurance, and port-
duties, which vary in amount, according to the
different weight and bulk of the articles import-
ed; on cottons and woollens, these amount to
about two or three per cent.; on beer about eigh-
teen per cent.; on hardware about fifteen per
cent.

If, with these advantages in his favour, the
Irish domestic manufacturer cannot support a
compe-

competition in the home-market, it certainly would be unjust to oblige the people at large, by prohibitory duties, to purchase their goods for any price which they may please to impose on them, although so much inferior in value. This would both diminish the general capital, and, for reasons already assigned, it would not, at least for a long series of years, and until some competition took place among the manufacturers, increase their dexterity and skill, or the degree of perfection in their fabrics. Want of capital, and want of skill, are the two principal deficiencies we labour under. Regulations of this nature, instead of increasing, would diminish both. When our capital and skill have advanced higher in the scale of perfection, and they are advancing every day, the duties and expences to which foreign goods are liable will effectually secure the home market to our manufacturers. At the period when the Commercial Propositions were agitated, and it was in contemplation to lower duties paid on Irish manufactures imported into Great Britain, to the rates imposed on British imports into Ireland, the manufacturers of England, whose jealousy is so apt on the slightest foundation to take the alarm, were satisfied that such duties, and the expence of freight, commission,

mission, &c. would effectually secure the home market to them. The following is the report of the Lords of the Committee of Council: "The
 " duties imposed by this plan on wollen goods
 " imported from Ireland will be lower than those
 " on any other article of Irish growth or manu-
 " facture, being about six-pence per yard on old
 " drapery, and two-pence on new, which is, on
 " an average, not more than five per cent.; and
 " yet the merchants and manufacturers in this
 " branch of commerce, whom the committee
 " have examined, appear by their evidence to
 " have very little apprehension of a competition.
 " The duties on the importation of all other
 " goods, the growth and manufacture of Ireland,
 " into this kingdom, will, according to the pro-
 " posed plan, be at least ten per cent. and on
 " some articles considerably more; which, with
 " the charges of freight, insurance, commission,
 " and port-charges, will, in the judgment of the
 " Committee, be amply sufficient to secure a due
 " preference to the subjects of Great Britain in
 " their own market."

Another circumstance which must render the adoption of any regulations under the denomination of Protecting Duties, which would secure
 the

the monopoly of the home market to Irish manufacturers, particularly detrimental to Ireland, is, that by raising the profits of manufacturing occupations much higher than those of agricultural, it would necessarily draw from the latter business, which is so much more advantageous to society, a portion of that capital which would otherwise be employed in it. Agriculture, however, for the many reasons already stated, is the occupation which should be peculiarly encouraged in Ireland, and any regulations or restrictions which, even remotely, tend to discourage or depress it, will be proportionably detrimental to the interest and employment of the people at large.

Of the two cases stated by Smith, in which it would be advantageous for a nation to lay restraints upon the produce of foreign, in favour of domestic industry (see above, Part I. page 105,) neither are applicable to the present situation of Ireland; no argument can be deduced from them, under our circumstances, in favour of protecting duties or prohibitions. There is another case stated by Smith, in which he says it may be matter of deliberation, whether a nation should impose high duties on foreign manufactured produce or not, and that is, when a nation

tion restrains, by high duties or prohibitions, the importation of the same manufactures into their ports. The importation of almost all Irish manufactures into Great Britain, linen only excepted, is either prohibited or restrained by high duties; and it may, therefore, be deemed eligible to impose the same restraints upon British manufactures, which they impose upon ours. "There may be good policy," says Smith, "in retaliations of this kind, when there is a probability that they will procure a repeal of the high duties or prohibitions complained of: the recovery of a great foreign market will generally more than compensate the transitory inconvenience of paying dearer during a short time for some sort of goods. But when there is no probability that any such repeal can be procured, it seems a bad method of compensating the injury done to some classes of our people, to do another injury ourselves, not only to these classes, but to almost all the other classes of them." This is precisely the case of Ireland. The English would never be prevailed upon to open their markets to our manufactures by measures of this nature. On the contrary, such a war of prohibitions would, it is probable, both close their barriers more firmly

firmly against us, and ultimately exclude us from the British market for our linens, at present the most valuable of any we are in possession of.

For the many reasons advanced, therefore, the protecting duties, so loudly clamoured for at different periods, should never be given to Irish manufactures. Those who demand them are actuated by short-sighted and merely interested motives. Those who support them from patriotic principles are guilty of an error in judgment, and cannot possibly have studied the subject in the minute manner, and with the extensive views, it necessarily requires. The advantages our manufacturers possess in the home-market are already sufficiently great; if, with these advantages, they are not able to dispute the market with foreigners, the manufacturers deserve not greater partiality, nor the manufactures greater attention.

The loading with heavy duties, or totally prohibiting, the exportation of the primum of manufactures, has been another device adopted for their encouragement. By preventing any competition of foreigners, restraints of this nature infallibly secure such materials at a cheaper rate
to

to manufacturers than they could obtain them if a free and fair competition were allowed. The only primum, of which we naturally possess any considerable quantity, is wool. In order to favour the woollen manufactures of England, the export of wool from Ireland to any country but Great Britain has been long prohibited. Would it be an adviseable measure to prohibit its exportation to *any* country, in order to secure it at a cheaper rate to our own manufacturers? The policy of Great Britain, in prohibiting the exportation of wool, has been by many writers keenly disputed. It has been asserted, that its very low price in the home-market * has rendered the grower so careless as to its quality, that the fineness and value of the wool have progressively decreased, that even the quantity is diminished, and that in consequence of such neglect, the manufacturers have for a long time been obliged to import Spanish wool, of which all the finer manufactures are now entirely composed. (See Anderson on National Industry, Letter XII.) These supposed evil consequences, however, of prohibiting the exportation of wool, have been

* The average price of wool in England is 6d. per pound; in Ireland 10½d; in France 17d.

dis-

disputed by many respectable writers on the subject. Doctor Smith assigns very satisfactory reasons for concluding, that the prohibition cannot have produced these effects. "It may be
 "thought," says he, "that the reduction of the
 "price of wool, by discouraging the growing
 "of wool, must have reduced its annual pro-
 "duce. I am disposed to believe, however, that
 "this is not the case. The growing of wool is
 "not the chief purpose for which the sheep far-
 "mer employs his industry and stock; he expects
 "his profit, not so much from the fleece as from
 "the carcase; and the average price of the lat-
 "ter must make up to him any deficiency in the
 "average price of the former. The degradation
 "in the price of wool, therefore, is not likely,
 "in an improved and cultivated country, to oc-
 "casion any diminution in the annual produce
 "of that commodity. Its effects, however, up-
 "on its quality, may be perhaps thought very
 "great. It happens, however, that the goodness
 "of the fleece depends, in a great measure, upon
 "the health, growth, and bulk of the animal.
 "The same attention which is necessary for the
 "improvement of the carcase, is, in some re-
 "spects, sufficient for that of the fleece. Not-
 "withstanding the degradation of price, Eng-

“ lish wool is said to have improved considerably during the course even of the present century *.”

If the prohibition against the export of wool, from the peculiarity in the mode of its produce, be a measure not injurious in England, its adoption must be much more advisable in Ireland. The prevalence of grazing we have shewn to be most destructive in its operation. Many of the most fertile tracts in the kingdom, and the best fitted for agriculture, are still covered with sheep. Any measure, therefore, not otherwise disadvantageous, which diminishes the profits of this species of grazing, and tends to confine sheep to those districts naturally adapted to their rearing and fattening, and incapable of being submitted to the more useful culture of the plough, ought to be adopted without hesitation. Such restrictions, besides, by lowering the price of wool, assist our woollen manufacturers; they encourage an useful species of industry and employment, and discourage a business which affords no employment at all. Should, therefore, the export-

* *Abridged from Book IV. ch. VIII, of the Wealth of Nations.*

ation of wool to Great Britain be prohibited? Such a measure is unnecessary. The exportation has spontaneously, almost, ceased, and that for reasons we shall proceed to state. Wool sells in Ireland, on an average, at tenpence-halfpenny per pound, in England at sixpence, and the general quality of the former is inferior to that of the latter. (See the Report of the Committee of Council in England on the Irish Propositions.) A licence for exportation from the Lord Lieutenant is also necessary, the cost of which amounts to about fourpence-halfpenny per stone. If we add to this the charges of freight, commission, insurance, &c. it will not be surprising that the export of wool to England has been almost entirely abandoned. It was at one period exported to Great Britain in very large quantities. In the year 1698, the English manufacturers petitioned that the importation of woollen and worsted yarn from Ireland should be prohibited. To please the English monopolist, as usual, heavy duties were accordingly laid on its exportation from this island. The Irish were, consequently, necessitated to export their wool to England in its natural state. This they did in large quantities. The export of wool to England in 1698 was 377,520 stone. In the year 1739, the English manu-

manufacturers petitioned that the restraints imposed according to their desire, in 1698, on the exportation of Irish yarn, should be removed: their petition was of course complied with, and this gave a considerable check to the export of wool to England. It has since that period progressively declined, and is at present very trifling. At an average of seven years, ending 1770, the annual export of wool to England was but 18,976 stone. At an average of seven years, ending 1777, it was but 1415 stone. It has since that period decreased still more, and is at present scarcely worthy notice. This diminution has been occasioned, partly, by the increased price of wool in Ireland; an increase proceeding from our peasantry being more numerous, and better clothed, than formerly, and almost entirely with domestic manufacture, which necessarily increased the demand, and consequently the price of wool. The rise of price in wool has also been partly occasioned from its being smuggled to France, though I believe this trade at present very trifling; but the price has been principally, I believe, augmented by the exportation of wool manufactured into yarn into England. The expediency of permitting the exportation of this yarn we shall next examine; it is the principal object of con-

sideration in the subsequent article of our inquiry.

The last expedient we shall consider which has been devised and practised for the encouragement of manufactures, is, prohibiting the exportation of any primum in any stage of manufacture short of the last.

This has been another favourite object with the manufacturers of different countries. Not satisfied with obtaining a monopoly of the home-market against all buyers of their manufactures, by excluding any but their own, they have endeavoured, and in general too successfully, to obtain a similar monopoly against all sellers of any of the materials employed in these manufactures, by preventing any purchaser from coming in competition with themselves. Thus, by contriving to buy as cheap and sell as dear as possible, they endeavour to augment their own profits to the utmost, at the expence of every other order in the state; and to persuade you, that this is the speediest and most infallible method of enriching a nation.

The two great articles of Irish produce, which
come

come under this head of our inquiry, are, linen and woollen yarn ; the former of which is employed in large quantities in cotton, as well as linen manufactures, and the latter in different branches of the woollen manufacture. Linen yarn is liable, on exportation, to a duty of five shillings per hundred weight ; woollen yarn is exported duty free. Would it or would it not be advantageous to impose high duties on, or totally prohibit the exportation of these materials, in order to encourage our manufactures ? The effects of such a measure would infallibly be, to throw the very great numbers at present employed in Ireland in spinning linen and woollen yarn entirely on the mercy of the linen, cotton, and woollen manufacturers. Freed from the competition of any other purchasers, the manufacturers would regulate the price of these articles themselves, and infallibly give only the lowest which the spinners could afford to receive. In any country this would be unjust and impolitic ; in Ireland it would be peculiarly so. The lower class of people are those whom it should be the peculiar object of the legislature to relieve and enrich. Numbers are employed in the manufacturing of linen and woollen yarn, who could scarcely find employment in any other line. To

throw them upon the generosity of a class of people who have, in every situation, evinced the most selfish and monopolising spirit, would be a most effectual mode to diminish the amount of their scanty earnings, and to lessen a principal source of their employment. The demands of the manufacturers, on this head, are truly unjustifiable. It is absurd to suppose that the export of a manufacture, because it has not arrived at the last stage of perfection, cannot be serviceable to a country; and it is a falsehood to assert that the manufacturers of Ireland do not already possess a sufficient advantage, in the purchase of those articles, over the manufacturers of other nations. The English manufacturer purchases those same articles at a much higher price than the Irish; converts them into complete fabrics, and afterwards undersells the Irishman in his own market. This will appear from a very short calculation. Irish linen yarn pays a duty of five shillings per hundred weight on exportation; which, at the rate of six pounds sterling per hundred weight, the average price of linen yarn, is four one-fifth per cent. in the purchase: the charges of freight, commission, insurance, &c. as deposed before the Committee of Council, are five per cent. The English, therefore, purchase our linen yarn

at nine one-fifth per cent. advance, beside the difference of price in the two countries. The disadvantage at which the English manufacturer purchases our woollen yarn, in consequence of the expence of licence, port-duties, freight, commission, &c. is stated in the evidence given before the Committee of Council to be about six and a half per cent.

With these advantages, however, in the purchase of the materials of their fabrics, the Irish linen, cotton, and woollen manufacturers are not satisfied. They would have us depress the industry, diminish the earnings, and curtail the employment of thousands of the poor, in order to give them an advantage over the English manufacturer, beside those they already enjoy, which are so very considerable.

We may form an adequate idea of the importance of the manufacture of linen yarn to the employment and emolument of the poor, from what doctor Smith has advanced on a similar subject in England. "In the different operations," says he, "which are necessary for the preparation of linen yarn, a good deal more industry is employed than in the subsequent

“ operation of preparing linen cloth from linen
 “ yarn. To say nothing of the industry of the
 “ flax-growers and flax-dressers, three or four
 “ spinners at least are necessary to keep one
 “ weaver in constant employment ; and more
 “ than four-fifths of the whole quantity of la-
 “ bour, necessary for the preparation of linen
 “ cloth, is employed in that of linen yarn.—
 “ But it is the industry which is carried on for
 “ the benefit of the rich and the powerful that
 “ is principally encouraged by our mercantile
 “ system. That which is carried on for the be-
 “ nefit of the poor and the indigent is too often
 “ either neglected or oppressed.” The impor-
 tance of the manufacture of linen yarn will
 be, from these observations, abundantly evident.
 The importance of that of woollen yarn will ap-
 pear from the subsequent calculation.

Mr. Young, in his inquiries respecting the ma-
 nufacture of this article, discovered the following
 particulars. (See his Tour, p. 252.)

£. s. d.

The cost of 5000 stone of wool, at

16s. per stone, was - - 4000 — —

Combing

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Combing this wool						
was - -	5	20	—			
Spinning it - -	15	60	—			
				20	80	—
Value of the yarn - -				60	80	—

The mere labour, therefore, in the manufacturing this yarn, was better than one third of its whole value. Another calculation, he makes elsewhere, gives somewhat the same result. "*Bay yarn*. A woman, on an average, spins three skains a day, which weigh a quarter of a pound; the value spun is from ten-pence to a shilling, medium ten-pence three farthings.

	£.	s.	d.
" Combing it - - -	—	—	1
" Spinning - - -	—	—	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
	—	—	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
" Value of wool - -	—	—	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
" Value of yarn - -	—	—	10 $\frac{3}{4}$

The proportion of the labour employed in its manufacture, to that of the value of the yarn, is pretty

pretty much the same as in the former calculation, about one-third.

The average annual value of woollen yarn exported from Ireland is 350,000*l.* sterling; of this sum one-third, or about 116,666*l.* sterling is to be set down to mere labour, and is, therefore, annually distributed in the employment of the lowest class; a circumstance of considerable consequence, where the earnings of that class are so scanty, and their poverty so considerable as in Ireland.

As the Irish manufacturer, therefore, already enjoys a considerable advantage, in the purchase of linen and woollen yarn, over every manufacturing competitor; as, by the export of those articles, employment is afforded to thousands of the lower class, who could not otherwise well obtain it; as the employment and aggrandizement of that class are, in Ireland, objects which should claim peculiar attention and regard, any duties on, or prohibition against, the exportation of linen or woollen yarn, can only be calculated to give a prejudicial monopoly to a few interested manufacturers, whose advantages are already sufficiently great; and to depress the industry and
obstruct

obstruct the employment of a class of people, more numerous, more indigent, and more in need of assistance and support.

Another expedient, which has been recommended for promoting the manufactures of Ireland, and consequently the employment of her people, is, lowering the legal rate of interest. The many advantages which a nation derives from the fixed rate of interest being a low one, have been so fully explained by Sir Jos. Child, and his work is in such general circulation, that any recapitulation of the observations and arguments he adduced would be superfluous. An attempt was lately made to lower the rate of interest in this country to five per cent. and the subject was at that time very fully discussed. The only argument of any weight adduced in opposition to a measure so beneficial, was, that a considerable portion of the stock and capital of the kingdom was English; that the only temptation the proprietors had to lay it out in this country was the additional interest which was paid here, and that if that were reduced, the greater part of it would be withdrawn. This argument, however, is completely refuted by advertisements which every day appear, offering
English

English money at interest on good securities at five per cent. Many sums are actually borrowed at present at that rate ; and it certainly would considerably assist the manufacturer and trader to have the legal interest reduced to that standard ; for as long as it is fixed at six per cent. the majority of money-lenders will expect and receive that sum, notwithstanding any partial exceptions of money lent at five or lower.

Such are the different expedients which have been practised for introducing, encouraging, and extending manufactures, in different parts of Europe ; and so little, in our opinion, is the applicability of the majority of them to the manufactures of Ireland in her present state. Will you, therefore, give no extraordinary encouragement to the manufactures of your country ? If a manufacturer asked such a question, I would answer him thus : You ask for encouragement ; the occupation you pursue is one of considerable consequence to society, and if I could grant the encouragement and privileges you desire, without injuring, by such concession, the still more important interests of the remaining very great majority of the people, I should willingly acquiesce in your requisition ; but the promotion of those
in-

interests, and the privileges you labour to obtain, are perfectly incompatible. The advantages you are already in possession of are far from inconsiderable: by the settlement of 1779, the markets of the greater part of the commercial world were thrown open to you; duties are already imposed upon different articles of manufactured produce, which, although not amounting to prohibitions, are sufficient, with the unavoidable charges of freight and other expences, to give you a decided advantage in your home-market, and are as heavy as can be imposed with any degree of prudence, or sufficient consideration for the interests of society at large. Similar duties, similar expences, and the cheapness of labour, afford you equal advantages in the purchase of different necessary articles in the lower stages of your respective fabrics: if, situated thus, you are unable to meet, with all his disadvantages, the foreign manufacturer in your home, or to dispute with him the preference in foreign markets, I must impute your deficiency to want of capital and want of skill, and I cannot think that the one would be augmented, or the other improved, by the measures you are so very desirous should be adopted. The restraints you laboured under before 1779 deprived you of
 skill,

skill, and your nation of capital. The removal of those restraints, although it laid open to you the opportunity of improving in both, could not instantaneously invest you with an adequate portion of either. Such important acquisitions must be gradually obtained; you are gradually obtaining them, and your manufactures are in a state of steady and progressive increase. Persevere in the same plan: let industry preside over your labours: let emulation animate your attention and ingenuity; and you will speedily not only secure the home-market for your fabrics against all rivals, but dispute with them a preference in the foreign.

Conformably to these sentiments, the minute inquirer will find that the different manufactures of Ireland are daily improving and extending. Of this the following facts will afford very convincing proofs. Several of the tables I have not been able to bring down to the present day, and must plead the same excuse, and indulge the same expectations, as on a former similar occasion.

Wollen manufacture. This is extending and improving considerably, especially in the coarser fabrics.

fabrics. An infinitely greater proportion of the home-demand is supplied by them than before the extension of our trade in 1779; and it may reasonably be expected that our manufacturers will, in those branches, soon exclude all foreign competitors.

The increase of our exports in the woollen branch, since the removal of our commercial restraints, will be seen from the following table, a continuation of which I have not yet been able to procure.

EXPORT.		Drapery, New. Drapery, Old.	
		Yards.	Yards.
Years ending March	1780	8653	494
	1781	286859	3740
	1782	336607½	4633
	1783	538061	40589

The progressive increase of our woollen may be judged from that of the total of our exports, which I have obtained down to 1787.

		£.	s.	d.
This was in	1783	-	2935707	17 6¼
	1784	-	3326211	16 6
	1785	-	3737068	— 7½
	1786	-	3957396	18 11½
	1787	-	4238345	13 11½
				Cotton

Cotton Manufacture. This is daily increasing and improving, and proportionately engrossing the home-market, but particularly in the fustian and muslin line. Some information respecting the increasing state of this trade may be received from the following tables :

Export of fustians from Ireland to America was, in

1781	-	1108 yards.
1782	-	None.
1783	-	24296
1784	-	47237

Export of cotton and mixed goods from Ireland to America was, in

		£.	s.	d.	
1781	-	145	12	4	value.
1782	-	414	7	6	
1783	-	1148	16	—	
1784	-	8319	18	2	

The importation of the materials, cotton wool and cotton yarn, has increased in the following proportion :

Cotton

	Cotton Wool. Cwt.	Cotton Yarn. Cwt.
Average of three		
years, ending - 1773—2550		2226
1783—3236		5405
1787—7153		21615

Glass manufacture. In the bottle line this is increasing. In the finer branches the Waterford manufactory has improved and extended itself to an astonishing degree. It supplies at present the greater part of the home-market of the kingdom; this is universally known; it may be proved from the considerable decrease in the importation of one article, drinking glasses. The average number imported for

Three years, ending 1773	was	209222
Ditto - - - 1783	—	22248
Ditto - - - 1787	—	4648

Our first export of glass was in 1781, since which time it has progressively increased.

Paper manufacture. The improvements in this branch are well known. Its sales in the home-market are proportionately increasing, and it

Y

bids

bids fair in a short space of time to supply it almost entirely.

Silk manufacture. From out want of the premium; from the variation in fancy as to the different articles of this fabric, which we must always copy from London; and from various other causes, this manufacture is slower in its progress to perfection than any other; nor is this to be much lamented. The disadvantages it must labour under will always considerably impede its progress; and the other branches of manufactures will, for a length of time, afford sufficient employment to the hands, which could derive occupation in this. Still, however, it is improving; damasks, lustrings, and handkerchiefs, of a very good quality, are produced by our artists. But their particular excellence is in mixed goods, as tabinets and poplins; those have been long celebrated, and the home-market for them is entirely supplied by domestic artists. It is with pleasure I observe they are forcing their way into foreign markets. Some entries of them have been lately made for Holland.

On the whole, it may with pleasure be remarked, that our manufactures, as well in the
branches

branches particularised as in others more subordinate, are daily and steadily increasing. This is in itself another proof that our backwardness in them has not been owing, since 1779, to any impolitic restrictions, or to the home-market's not being sufficiently protected, but to want of capital and want of skill; two material defects which could not be immediately obviated, but which are daily and rapidly diminishing. From a perseverance in the same line of conduct, therefore, and from a rejection of any impolitic duties or prohibitions, may justly be expected a progressive and considerable extension and improvement in all our manufactures, and a consequent proportionate increase in the employment of our people.

Since concluding and sending the preceding sheets to the press, I have, through the medium of Sir Hercules Langrishe, obtained the subsequent continuation of the Tables of Export and Import—his promptitude and politeness in procuring the necessary information, demand my peculiar acknowledgments. The result turns out highly favourable to the conclusions attempted to be established in the foregoing pages.

An Account of the following Articles, exported from and imported into Ireland for ten Years, ending 25th March 1792, and of the total Value of Exports during the same Period.

Years ending 25th March	Articles of Exportation.						Articles of Importation.		
	Drapery.		Yarn.		Cotton and linen mixed manufacture.		Wool, Cotton.		Pounds.
	New.	Old.	Woollen.	Worsted.	Value.	Value.	Cwt.		
	Yards.	Yards.	Stones.	Stones.	£.	£.			
1783	538061	40589	440	66677	1418	2907922	4550	6516	
1784	666298	35329	97	100563	9548	3326211	53	547	
1785	770032	34250	490	94729	9382	3737068	5223	4711	
1786	349628	10435	803	74931	4443	3956736	7260	22188	
1787	206849	15329	—	54862	5216	4238333	8977	37945	
1788	315111	7747	31884	7109	7545	4361664	10728	45015	
1789	363196	7833	—	26316	4616	4103339	13516	83814	
1790	352022	8312	—	39973	14522	4826360	11911	77687	
1791	320491	15885	—	38064	9628	4863658	14649	205515	
1792	384396	18669	—	53644	16988	5321358	10233	298351	

This

This table affords many proofs that the manufactures of this kingdom are in a state of progressive increase, unassisted by the different prohibitory duties which we have in the preceding section reprobated as unnecessary, nay prejudicial. The three first years, indeed, are remarkable for the exportation of an unusual number of yards of new and old drapery; but this seems to have been owing to the great speculation excited at that period, by the pacification of America, the market of which became in consequence soon overstocked. Since the current of exportation has subsided into its natural channel, these manufactures are gaining ground, and their home consumption has advanced much more rapidly than their exportation. But many other favourable conclusions may be drawn from the tables in question.

1. Although the manufacture of woollen and worsted yarn has not diminished in the kingdom, the exportation of these articles has been considerably lessened. The average annual amount of the exportation for five years, ending 1787, was in round numbers 78718 stones. A similar average, ending 1792, is only 39398 stones. As

the exportation has not been loaded with any duty, this diminution can only be ascribed to the extension of the woollen manufacture within the kingdom.

2. The exportation of cotton and linen mixed goods has been increasing. The annual average of the value of such goods exported for five years, ending 1787, is 6001l. A similar average, ending 1792, is 10659l. But,

3. The manufacture and home consumption of cotton manufactures have increased in a much greater proportion, as appears from the great increase in the importation of the raw materials cotton wool and cotton yarn. The average annual importation of these articles during the two before-mentioned periods stands thus :

Average of five years importation of
cotton wool, ending 1787, is - 5212 Cwt.

Ditto, ending 1792, - - 12207

Average of five years importation of

cotton yarn, ending 1787, is - 14281 lbs.

Ditto, ending 1792, - - 142076

4. The

4. The total amount of our exports has considerably increased.

£.

The average annual amount of five

years, ending 1787, is	-	-	3633234
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Ditto, ending 1792,	-	•	4695275
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§ III. COMMERCE.

This division necessarily brief—Carrying trade does not afford much employment—or much profit—A monopoly of it, therefore, by the people of Ireland, would be injurious—The object of commercial regulations should be chiefly our admission to foreign ports—Intercourse between Ireland and Great Britain—Origin of the British prohibitions—Necessity of an adjustment between the two countries—Principles on which it should be founded.

§ III. COMMERCE.

THE discussion of this division of our subject requires little delay, and it will necessarily be more concise than any of the preceding sections. The reasons of this are obvious—Commerce, or the trade of import and export, is not in itself so much the source of employment as the effect. Wherever a people are employed, either in raising rude produce, or in converting such produce into manufactures, an export of their superfluities, and an import of the objects of their wants, will take place, and be proportioned to the amount of the numbers employed, and the extent of their employment. A number of ships resorting to a harbour, will not necessarily establish either flourishing manufactures or a superfluity of rude produce for export in its vicinity; but the establishment of flourishing manufactures will necessa-

ally attract vessels from different quarters of the world, and create a trade of export and import. Commerce * is not the parent, but the offspring of employment. Holland is, in some degree, an exception to this maxim; her carrying trade is a principal source of employment to her natives; but one singular example does not invalidate the general justice of the conclusion. Besides, it may be otherwise accounted for on other principles.

But does not the exportation and importation of a country afford immediate employment to numbers, who navigate the necessary vessels; and should it not, therefore, be confined as much as possible to the inhabitants of our own island? The business of exporting and importing undoubtedly does afford employment to many naval hands; but the capital necessary to it employs a more inconsiderable number of people, than capital to the same amount in almost any

* It will be observed that I take commerce in the confined sense of a mere trade of export and import.—It has been used in a more extended and comprehensive signification.

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other branch of business. This will be evident from a striking example. A vessel which originally costs a thousand pounds, and requires besides a considerable yearly sum to supply her wear and tear, &c. will be easily navigated by half a dozen seamen. They are the only people to whom such sums give immediate employment. But capital to the same amount, employed annually in agriculture or manufactures, will give employment to hundreds. Besides,

The money employed solely in the carrying trade affords smaller returns, and tends less to augment the capital, and consequently the employment of a people, than in any other business, perhaps, whatever. Hence those nations which possess a profusion of wealth, and who are, consequently, content with small profits, are they who engross the greatest part of this business. Such are the Dutch and English; and hence we are to conclude, with Smith, "That the
 " carrying trade is the natural effect and symp-
 " tom of great national wealth, but does not
 " seem to be the natural cause of it; and those
 " statesmen who have been disposed to fa-
 " your

“ your it with particular encouragements, seem
 “ to have mistaken the effect and symptom for
 “ the cause.”

It is folly, therefore, to lament that Ireland possesses so little of her own carrying trade ; or to recommend any regulations which would force it into the hands of her natives. Want of capital, I must again repeat it, is her principal deficiency. If we can get our goods transported by foreigners at an easy rate, and at the same time employ our capital in other branches of occupation, which will afford greater returns, and greater employment than the carrying trade ; it is better persevere in the same plan, until our capital is so abundant as naturally to disgorge itself, as Smith expresses it, into this channel, than prematurely to force what little wealth we do possess into a comparatively disadvantageous occupation. By the construction of the celebrated bill passed in 1782, commonly called “ Mr. Yelverton’s bill,” the English navigation act is so far adopted, that the carrying trade of Ireland is in a great measure confined to Great Britain and Ireland. While it is not entirely confined to the latter, little inconvenience

nience can, in these respects, arise to Irish commerce. England affords us freight nearly as cheap as any other country could do, Holland excepted; and it is but just we should give them this monopoly, as tending to support the naval strength, and, consequently, the chief security of both islands.

The principal circumstance in which the legislature of a country can advantageously interfere with respect to commerce, so as to promote the employment of the people, is the procuring as free admission as possible for her produce and manufactures into foreign ports. To a considerable number of foreign markets Ireland enjoys as unrestricted admittance as any other commercial state. Among these may be numbered the British West India Islands, and American Colonies, whose markets were fully opened to us by the settlement of 1779; the United States of America, to which our exports are considerable, and daily increasing; Portugal, with which our trade is peculiarly advantageous; Spain, with which our connection is rapidly extending; France, Holland, Norway,

Norway, Sweden, and all the ports of the Baltic.

The country into whose ports admittance for all our manufactured produce, linen only excepted, is most difficult, and nearly, indeed, prohibited, is Great Britain. It was to effect a mutual settlement in this point that the celebrated Commercial Propositions were principally introduced. It is not our intention to enter into a minute discussion of the merits of these propositions as finally adjusted in England. They no longer engage the attention of the public, and those desirous of more particular information respecting them than can here be possibly afforded, will be gratified in the perusal of the various publications respecting them, which issued from the press at the period of their introduction.

We shall here only offer a few general considerations on the propriety and advantages of finally adjusting the intercourse between the two countries, on liberal principles.

The British prohibitions against the import of
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the manufactures of Ireland, which still exist, as well as the restraints upon export to any country, which she successfully disengaged herself from in 1779, arose, in a great degree, from the system of colonization *, by which Ireland was governed till the last mentioned period. The principles of that system were, to secure a complete monopoly in the purchase of all the rude produce of colonies, and a similar monopoly of the colonial markets, for the sale of domestic manufactures. The concessions of 1779, and the final settlement of the constitution in 1782, com-

* It is curious to discover, on retrospection, the sentiments of England respecting Ireland, previous to her emancipation.—A most extraordinary petition was at one time presented from Folkestone and Aldborough to the Parliament of England, stating, that they had suffered a singular grievance from Ireland, “by the Irish catching herrings at *Winterton* and *Wexford*, sending them to the Streights, and “thereby *forestalling* and ruining petitioners markets.”—A bill which was passed in Ireland in 1759, for restraining the importation of damaged flour, was thrown out by the interest of a single miller at Chichester—Even the liberal doctor Smith himself was not free from these prejudices: “As the woollen manufactures of Ireland,” says he, “are fully as much discouraged as is consistent with *justice and fair dealing*, “&c.”

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pletely subverted this system, and Ireland became free to export her manufactures to any part of Europe, and the New World, that would receive them. England, however, though she could no longer restrain the exports of Ireland, could prevent the admission of her fabrics into her own ports; and she has done so. Whether it is expedient that the two countries should remain upon this footing; and what, in case of a change, are the principles which should regulate their mutual agreement, are the points which remain with us to investigate.

A variety of political reasons occur, which it would be invidious to recapitulate, and which strongly demonstrate the necessity of a more strict commercial union between the two countries. Even self-interest should prompt England, if any measure of this nature could serve and enrich Ireland, immediately to adopt it. The selfish, narrow, and illiberal spirit of commercial jealousy, would have us believe that one country could only flourish in proportion as its neighbour became distressed. The very contrary is the fact. The rich are much better customers to a tradesman than the poor.—

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It is exactly the same with nations. The more flourishing a country is, the greater will be its demand for the different productions in which those of its vicinity excel. And the greater the riches of Ireland, the more considerable will be her consumption of different articles, for which she must always resort to England. This is not only evident from reason, but evinced by experience. Our imports from England have been ever proportioned to our wealth and prosperity.

But the necessity of some regulation of intercourse between the two kingdoms, different from that which at present obtains, is evident by the resolution of the British House of Commons 17th May 1782.

“ Resolved, that it is *indispensible* to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connection between them should be established, by mutual consent, on a solid and permanent basis.” —

Mr. Orde, in introducing his propositions to the Irish House, mentioned that his idea with

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respect to a mutual settlement had been that of a mutual dereliction of all duties between the two countries. The more this subject is examined, the more evidently, I am convinced, will it appear, that this would be the most liberal and generally advantageous measure which could be pursued. I would, in this instance at least, consider both Kingdoms as one, and would no more harrass with duties the intercourse between them than I would that between shire and shire, or county and county. The perfect freedom of internal commerce is of all advantages one of the most efficacious for promoting national wealth and prosperity; and, consequently, general employment; and, by such mutual freedom of intercourse, both nations would unavoidably profit, and each reap advantages from the prosperity of the other.

If such a total change of system is impossible, as some would have us believe, the next most desirable plan would be, to lower the duties where highest in each country to the amount of the lowest paid on the importation of the same articles into the other. This would at least be diminishing an evil; and this was the
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leading principle of the Commercial Propositions. Whether the constitutional defects discovered in them were such as warranted their rejection, this is neither the time nor place to examine.

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